

A Critical Feminist Institutional Analysis of Haiti's
«Politique D'Egalité Femmes Hommes»

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Abstract

Haiti has long been characterized as a fragile state. Particularly since 2004, responses from the international community have focused on Haiti's stabilization and reconstruction. Post-colonial critiques highlight the constraints imposed by these approaches, but fail to sufficiently explore forms of agency which, by resisting and redirecting external impositions, could promote political, social and economic transformation.

The adoption of the National Policy for Equality between Women and Men in Haiti in 2014/15 seems to represent such potentially transformative agency. The primary aim of this research is to understand how national agency and international actors (sometimes neo-colonial) interacted, through particular institutions, to shape the adoption and initial implementation of the National Policy. The second aim is to draw on selected feminist theories (institutional and more critical) to explain these processes and assess the extent to which they represent the emergence of transformative alternatives in the Haitian context.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

Problematique

Since well before the post 9/11 era, Haiti's political, social, and economic landscape has been characterized by state and broader social fragility. Responses from the international community have focused on top-down approaches to stabilization and reconstruction that frame development within the security-development nexus and market-oriented approaches. Post-colonial authors like Mark Duffield (2007) highlight the neo-colonial logic of externally-driven and securitized development responses to crises in fragile and conflict-affected societies. Denyse Côté (2014) extends this post-colonial critique to Haiti and adds a feminist analysis, highlighting the impact of the security-development paradigm on the women's movement. In particular, Côté highlights how humanitarian intervention after the January 2010 earthquake transformed the political and economic arena in Haiti, undermining the ability of the Haitian feminist movement to continue leading struggles against patriarchal norms, laws and practices.

The social construction of development policies includes the way that development is framed politically, socially and economically. Neo-colonial frames affect the conception of development in general, including its gendered aspects. As will be explained in the literature review, Duffield and Côté's critiques highlight the constraints imposed by such neo-colonial frames but fail to sufficiently explore forms of agency that resist external impositions and have the potential to foster political, social and economic transformation.

More nuanced critical and post-colonial perspectives addressing such forms of agency have emerged in the literatures on peacebuilding and the security-development nexus. Richmond (2007), Donais (2012) and Baranyi (2014) discuss how spaces for creative agency and the local ownership of development practices in fragile states can survive and sometimes even lead to transformative changes, speaking to the potential for hybrid outcomes. As Baranyi notes,

a critical constructivist approach “suggests nuanced ways in which critical analysts can study the shades of gray (and the occasional spots of color) that are painted by a variety of national actors, regional powers, international organizations and Diaspora networks in the post-9/11 era” (2014: 172), without losing sight of the structural obstacles facing transformative agency in fragile states. This view of transnational agency and hybrid outcomes is one of the theoretical lenses that informs my analysis.

In the Haitian context, identifying the key actors that are challenging inappropriate Western policy frames requires further investigation. Post-colonial insights help us to understand why and how these Western policy frames exist. The addition of a critical feminist institutional analysis may deepen our understanding of how the agency of women’s organizations has influenced the social construction of an alternative policy and its implementation to date, and whether it has been successful in challenging problematic western policy frames. As such, we will combine some post-colonial scholars’ understanding of the constraints on agency and the possibility of hybrid outcomes with critical feminist views of women's agency and its policy impacts, in Haiti and in other fragile and conflict-affected states.

Feminist institutionalism views institutional dynamics through a gendered lens. As Chappell, Mackay and Kenny suggest, feminist institutionalism has the potential to enhance our “understanding and analyses of institutional dynamics, gender power and the patterning of gendered inequalities in political life” (Chappell et. al 2010: 584). Mazur’s work (2002, 2009) also informs this feminist institutional perspective, highlighting how gendered policy formation must be systematically analyzed to understand the multitude of factors and actors that shape policy processes.

Further conceptual and empirical research is required to understand how the security-development nexus impacts policymaking in Haiti and in other fragile contexts, and to identify how emerging alternatives and innovations can (sometimes) overcome the constraints imposed by neo-colonial approaches. My research explores these issues in a specific Haitian context: the crafting and adoption of the National Policy (PN-EFH) and Action Plan (PA-EFH) for Equality between Women and Men, adopted in late 2014 and publically presented in May 2015, and their implementation since.

Background on Haiti

Haiti, an island nation set in the Caribbean Sea and that shares borders with the Dominican Republic, gained independence from France in 1804. It was the first successful revolution by black slaves and the second society, after the United States, to gain independence from colonial rule in the northern hemisphere. Since independence, weak public institutions, political instability, and high levels of violence have converged to perpetuate underdevelopment, leaving Haiti the poorest country in the northern hemisphere. Neo-colonial norms and recurrent international interventions have brought limited progress, and have been unable to address the underlying political, social, and economic deficits that have fueled chronic instability and underdevelopment. Part of this, as Dupuy (2010) writes, stems from economic policies like the structural adjustment programs that were initiated at the end of the Duvalier era and continued into the 1990s. “In the contemporary era, neoliberal policies imposed on Haiti in the last three decades cemented the country’s political and economic dependence. This was achieved by a dual strategy pursued by international financial institutions (IFIs) and the U.S. government to promote urban sweatshop garment production, on the one hand, and laissez-faire agricultural policies, on the other” (Dupuy 2010: 15).

Others like Fatton (2007) suggest that the origins of Haiti's fragility are directly linked to French colonialism in the 1800s and the US occupation in the early 1900s, which led to the social construction of a post-colonial state. Without the political and economic capacity to respond to emergencies and shocks, Haiti has been left vulnerable when natural disasters strike. Because of this, recurrent hurricanes and earthquakes have caused countless deaths (an estimated 200,000 Haitians died in the 2010 earthquake), destroyed critical infrastructure, and complicated efforts to provide basic services for citizens such as health care and water. Patterns of post-colonial legacies that contributed to Haiti's institutional fragility historically remain evident in the approaches of the international community to development in Haiti in recent times. As Baranyi synthesizes, "the historical interplay of poor governance and uneven economic development, and the more recent impacts of market-oriented reforms and chaotic urbanization, are often cited as factors explaining the devastating impacts of the 2010 earthquake, despite the relatively low intensity of the quake itself" (2012: 1). The convergence of these historical and structural factors help to explain why Haiti ranked 11th in the Fund for Peace's Fragile State Index (FSI) in 2017, despite the fact that it is not at war like many other of the most fragile and conflict-affected states at the top of that index.

Patriarchal norms have also influenced the social and cultural fabric of Haitian society and limited the extent to which more gender equitable ideals permeate political and public life, both within institutions and in the social attitudes of citizens. As I was walking through the National Museum in Port-au-Prince, it was evident in the exhibits reconstructing history that this was a male-dominated process. In reflecting on these patriarchal norms, Haitians have varying responses. Some suggest that stem from international intervention, while others speak to domestic factors, including religion, that have shaped gendered roles and relations. Either way,

these norms have encroached on women's autonomy in Haitian political and public life. Yet, as documented in this thesis, an influential women's movement in Haiti has also worked hard to confront the issue of gender equality, change public policy and transform social attitudes despite the political, social and economic constraints reflected in these historical references.

Marie Yanick Mezile, the Ministère à la Condition Féminine et aux Droits des Femmes (MCFDF) Minister in 2014 when the PN-EFH was adopted, reflected on the tensions between historical legacies and women's agency in introductory remarks found in the PN-EFH. She noted the historical roots of these struggles for equality, the influential role of women, and how they continued to manifest themselves in Haitian society today:

I would like to emphasize the contribution of women in Haiti's struggles against slavery and dictatorship. From Bois Caiman to national independence, from the resistance to the American occupation to the demanding movements to overthrow the Duvalier dictatorship through the movement, the women never ceased to give their support. Yet their contribution is often obscured in the National History which does not present them as full actors of these different struggles in the same way and under the same conditions as our male heroes. They are rather seen as victims, informants, objects of exchange or battle trophies. The struggle for equality and respect for human dignity remains a constant in our history as a people (Gouvernement d'Haïti 2014: ii, my translation).

Yet, as Minister Mezile remarked, despite a series of key democratic achievement at the national and international level that have taken place over the last decades, inequalities between women

and men remain very real in Haitian society today, manifesting themselves in all spheres of social, political, economic and cultural life. They continue to have a direct impact on the well-being of women.

Côté (2014a) echoed those observations in her overarching historical argument about how, despite major changes in Haiti's political, social and economic landscape since the 1980s, the Haitian feminist movement has not yet been able to transform patriarchal conceptions, laws and practices. Mezile and Côté's contributions help scholars to understand the complicated nature of gender in Haiti today, underscoring the dialectics of historically-inherited structures and norms, versus women's historic attempts to challenge those givens. Yet, moving forward it is important to understand how those dialectics play out in specific policy processes, namely to understand agency and institutional dynamics, and how they may create space for progress on gender equality despite these historical and structural constraints.

Unpacking this Research

In the Haitian context, the key actors that are challenging inappropriate Western policy frames and historically-reproduced patriarchal norms, in specific policymaking processes, require further investigation. In the literature review, a range of post-colonial scholars are mobilized to understand the neo-colonial and patriarchal constraints on policy processes such as the PN-EFH. The addition of critical institutionalism bridges post-colonial critiques and feminist institutional theory, and allows us to deepen our understanding of how the agency of women's organizations has affected the social construction of the PN-EFH as well as its implementation to date. It addresses an enduring need for grounded research on feminist agency and its policy impacts, in Haiti and in other fragile and conflict-affected states/societies. In Chapters 3-5, this critical institutional frame is utilized to discuss key aspects the elaboration, adoption, and initial

implementation of the PN-EFH, including the role of social movements and prospects for transformative agency.

Critical feminist analysis of foreign policy aims to “ask how gender has shaped our language of and about foreign policy, our foreign policy practices, and the institutions of foreign policy, as well as how these institutions, practices, and ideas restrict or perpetuate certain gender assumptions” (Stienstra 1994: 117). Yet how actors and institutions contribute to policymaking processes, including the interplay between formal and informal institutions flagged as “often under-theorized and underplayed in empirical studies” (Chappell et. al 2010: 576). As explained in chapter 2, Andrea Spehar notes that there is enduring gap in the systematic analysis of women’s movements’ influence on gender policy formation (Spehar 2007: 14). If we want to understand better how collective action relates to social change, it is important to understand what mechanisms allow social movements to bring about such long-term changes. By understanding the institutional dynamics between national government, civil society and international institutions underpinning the PN-EFH, the tools and spaces that allow social movement actors to navigate and influence problematic frames and policies can be better understood.

Exploring where potential spaces for agency are and how officials and activists at the national and international level contributed to them throughout the policymaking process could also shed light on possible friction between agencies and groups working together, providing insight into the prospects and binding constraints of this approach at a strategic level. For example, Côté’s work highlights how Haitian women’s organizations were unable to advocate for institutional reforms in the post-2010 earthquake period because of the difficulties of coordination when their efforts were not understood by international humanitarian actors. These

constraints reflect the limitations of social movements in complex emergencies but fail to uncover the transformative potential of national social actors

Research Questions

This research aims to understand how institutional dynamics and the role of various actors contribute to policymaking processes and outcomes, as well as the opportunities and constraints for transformative agency in those processes. Based on the theoretical puzzle of potentially transformative national agency and its institutional mediation introduced at the outset, and on my understanding of the Haitian context, my research was designed to explore the following questions:

- 1. What are the key institutional processes that led to the adoption of the National Policy and Action Plan for Equality between Women and Men, by the government of Haiti, in 2014-2015?**
- 2. What agency did national and international women's networks play in those processes? How did they take advantage of key opportunities? What binding constraints affected their influence?**
- 3. What have been the policy outcomes of the Action Plan since 2015 and why – also in terms of gendered agency, opportunities and constraints?**
- 4. What do the adoption and initial implementation of these norms suggest about prospects for transformative agency in Haiti?**

Methodology

A qualitative study was chosen as the best way to understand and theorize this research, because of the way the interpretive paradigm focuses on the wholeness of an experience rather than its parts. The holistic identification of patterns, categories, and themes is a central aspect of my research questions. Process tracing, my central research method, allowed me to reconstruct

the historical policy process that prefaced the adoption of the National Equality Policy in 2014, and understand the key actions and events that led to the crafting, adoption and implementation of this policy. The focus of process tracing on the description of phenomena at each step in the policymaking process, as well as the sequencing of events, provides the basis to describe and understand the policymaking process in a cumulative manner. As a qualitative method, process tracing builds space for inferential analysis that is sometimes lacking in quantitative analysis, because of the way it systematically examines key evidence based on description and sequence. In their pioneering work on process tracing, George and McKeown (1985) suggested that it helps to “investigate and explain the decision process by which conditions are translated into outcomes” (Falleti 2006: 1), providing a space for the causal effect of institutional relationships and other variables to be explored. The focus of this method on trajectories of change and causation are complementary to my research questions that seek to explore the role of key actors in the policymaking process.

A qualitative approach also allowed me to explore how institutional dynamics interact with these processes. In my research, a feminist institutional lens was used to explore how institutional discourses, such as the PN-EFH, may reveal larger relations of power in Haitian society. Through this lens, institutional relationships could also be analyzed in detail, with the aim of finding out how they affect the personal experiences of the individuals and organizations involved in the policymaking process. The strength in this approach is that its outcomes can be explicitly change oriented, as previously unrecognized opportunities for transformation can be detected through detailed analysis.

The combination of document research and key informant interviews allowed for key parts of the policymaking process to be re-constructed, in both its formal and informal

dimensions. National policy documents and key theoretical perspectives about the crafting and adoption of PN-EFH and PA-EFH laid the foundation for themes explored in the field research portion of this research. Key informant interviews were central to my field research and were used to reinforce the major policy documents and theoretical constructs. They also dug deeper into the informal channels at play in the policymaking process, to address aspects of the institutional dynamics of policymaking in Haiti that are more nuanced and may not be addressed through official channels. This created a well-rounded platform on which to analyze the prospective outcomes of this policy.

The theoretical aspects of this research, including post-colonial critiques, research regarding emerging alternatives and spaces for creative agency, and feminist new institutionalism were explored through desk research that employed content analysis of key documents, beginning with the key authors highlighted in the literature review. Primary document analysis focused on key ministerial documents from institutions such as the MCFDF and Canadian cooperation offices. Some of these documents were found online, including the “Politique D’Egalite Femmes Hommes 2014-2034” (PN-EFH) and the “Plan D’Action National D’Egalite Femmes Hommes 2014-2020” (PA-EFH) that are included in the bibliography, while others were obtained by visiting key institutions in Haiti and soliciting documents and information from key informants.

On the Ground: Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Since the field research involved human subjects, an ethics application was submitted in July 2017 and approved in September 2017. Interviewees were solicited and interviewed based on their free, prior and informed consent; their identities were also rigorously protected and guaranteed anonymity to minimize risk. French interview guides, referenced in Annex A, were developed to guide the interviews in Haiti that took place with the support of the local translator,

where necessary. Interviews in Ottawa were also guided with an interview guide, and interviews were conducted mainly in English. In this thesis, key informants are only referred to with general identifiers related to the context of their professional affiliation.

In Port-au-Prince, Haiti and in Ottawa, Canada, I conducted nineteen key informant interviews in a semi-structured manner with professionals -- namely selected scholars, political activists, members of civil society, and government officials who contributed to the policymaking process in Haiti and have knowledge about the institutional processes which led to the adoption of the PN-EFH. Interviewees were identified through a combined process of purposive and snowball sampling. In both the Haitian government and civil society sectors, my supervisor put me in touch with "gatekeeper" contacts, including a former Director General of the MCFDF who oversaw the policy process leading to the PN-EFH and PA-EFH, as well as a historic leader of the women's movement who drafted key documents in the process. Those contacts helped me identify other key informants in their networks. At the Haitian national level, this included seven current or former MCFDF officials, three individuals who were women's movement and civil society leaders, and two leaders of the handicapped movement in Haiti. Many of the key informants interviewed at the Haitian national level were representative of multiple realms of influence on the policymaking process, with a high crossover between actors in government, actors in civil society, and national activists.

At the international level, one official from UNDP and one official from UN Women were interviewed, as well as four officials representing Canada in various capacities, including at the Canadian Embassy in Port-au-Prince and at Global Affairs Canada in Ottawa, as well as a Canadian consultant from a key program that Global Affairs Canada supported. For interviews with United Nations and Canadian officials, emphasis was placed on understanding the role of

the international community in the elaboration and adoption of the policy, as well as on international agencies' current follow-up to this policy in Haiti. Both the PN-EFH document and interviews with Haitian officials suggested that UN Women and the Canadian government were the most crucial of these international actors. By interviewing various individuals from a diverse number of backgrounds as part of this research, insights were found on the connections between key actors and the opportunities/constraints they faced in the policymaking process.

As officials were identified for key informant interviews, an effort was made to move beyond the official policy documents to look critically at actors that should have been involved in the policy process but were not, or who were involved in the policymaking process in more informal ways. Conducting interviews with actors who were not addressed in high-level documents or were not included in the official consultation process that was taken by the national government in the crafting and adoption of this policy was one way this research looked to inform this gap. For example, a representative from a handicapped women's organization was interviewed, because they claim to have been excluded from the consultations leading up to the PN-EFH and PA-EFH. In this same vein, a question was posed in key informant interviews that asked informants whether or not there were other social groups or civil society organizations that operate on the periphery that may have been excluded or overlooked in the consultations for this policy.

Limitations of Field Research

The targeted nature of key informant interviews meant that the research I conducted only told me about the experiences and impressions of a select network of people. The document review and participant observations conducted in Haiti contributed to an overview of the policymaking process elaborated in chapter three, with the interviews giving me meaningful insights of a small sample of people. In order to balance the limitations of a small sample, I

sought out a few individuals who would be considered “overview informants” and have a breadth of experience and understanding because of their positions in the country over a long period of time. However, the small sample size and limited insight of experiences and key impressions from specific professionals remains a limitation of my research.

Furthermore, since this policy was adopted in late 2014 and publicly presented in early 2015, and a transitional government ruled the country in 2016, there was limited official information available on implementation to date. As such, my research in chapter four focused more on the impressions of key informants in the field who are currently working on the implementation of this policy. This research was able to highlight key steps that have been taken since the policy was adopted in 2014, as well as the strengths and limitations of its current implementation.

Process Tracing: Opportunities and Challenges

For this research, process tracing took into account several types of data, including primary and secondary sources, key informant interviews with representatives from different sectors, and individuals who could speak to experiences across sectors. The wide range of Haitian documents reviewed and key informants interviewed also helped to address the limitations of my position as a Canadian Anglophone woman conducting this research. The aim of this approach was to capture the perspectives of different actors, taking note of specific biases presented in their accounts of the policymaking process in the context of their professional positions. Focusing on their perspectives ensured that my role as a researcher remained neutral, and that I never claimed to speak for Haitian officials and individuals. Understanding where actors are operating to influence the policymaking process over time provides insight into whether their representation in political life is as agents of change. Process tracing was utilized to understand and reflect on how historical events and processes contributed to a political, social,

and economic environment that made possible the adoption of the National Policy for Equality between Women and Men adopted in late 2014, and how this environment continues to shape the way the PN-EFH has been implemented since.

In their description of process tracing, scholars Bennett and Checkel suggest that it is important to look widely for different explanations that could explain policy outcomes and why they occur, “including theoretical explanations in academic literature, theories of journalists, and perspectives of understanding participants about what they do and why” (Bennett and Checkel 2017: 18). One strength of process tracing is that it facilitates the exploration of a multitude of processes and actors that contribute to policymaking processes and outcomes, while leaving room for theoretical explanations like the critical feminist institutional lens utilized in this research. Process tracing takes note of both immediate causal processes, and the broader structural and discursive contexts that influence institutional processes.

Some academics including Roberts (1995) suggest that reconstructing historical explanations for policymaking processes has been met with little success, because of the complexities of institutional processes, and the different pathways that influence and lead to change at a political level. As Roberts suggests, historical explanations are rarely referenced because they “hopelessly clog the narrative” (Roberts 1995: 87-88). Yet Bennett and Checkel suggest that instead of straying away from these complexities, historical explanations must be made explicit to explore the different hypotheses about how underlying causal mechanisms contribute to policy outcomes. Under these circumstances, causal mechanisms can “be rigorously assessed, even if this results in political science narratives that are more clogged” (Bennett and Checkel 2017: 9). Scholar Marco Guigni extends this argument further to include social movements, suggesting that “taking into account historically contingent combinations of factors”

(Guigni 1999: xxv) also leaves policy space to document the role of movements and social change in political processes. Addressing the complexities of policymaking processes can lead to more robust explanations of the dynamics that contribute to policy outcomes.

Bennett and Checkel describe the combination of mechanisms that lead to policy outcomes as “equifinality”, where multiple causal pathways may lead to the same outcomes. They suggest that process tracing must take equifinality seriously to identify the range of mechanisms that may contribute to any given policymaking process. This research began to unpack the complexities of the policymaking process for the PN-EFH to understand how different actors contributed to the policymaking process over time. While common themes emerged, defining the exact nature of an actor’s influence and their impact on the social construction of policy was difficult because of the various actors and institutional variables that contributed to this process. Bennett and Checkel and Guigni’s methodological contributions validate the nature of this complexity and suggest how scholars can embrace the dynamic nature of policymaking processes.

Methodological Limitations of Process Tracing

Bennett and Checkel (2017) also acknowledge potential challenges presented by process tracing. This includes how to determine the period of time to carry out process tracing for intended research, how far down and how far back to explain an event, the potential biases of evidentiary sources, how to draw conclusions from process tracing, and the inclusion of social movements in process tracing. This research addressed these challenges by making clear methodological choices.

In determining the period of time to include as part of the policymaking process that led up to the adoption of this policy, emphasis was put on the time period directly preceding the adoption of this policy. Details documented came from a combination of the analysis of national

policy documents and the contributions of key informants who gave detailed accounts of the formal and informal processes that contributed to the policymaking process in the context of their professional work that may have not been documented through formal channels. Key informant interviews also helped to determine what other key historical references should be included as part of the policymaking process and the institutionalization of gender equality over time in Haiti at a political level. Key milestones that informants routinely mentioned for inclusion in the process tracing were the period around 1994 when MCFDF was created, and 2004+ when political steps were taken to institutionalize gender equality at the national level.

Interviewing key informants from a variety of sectors and institutions helped to construct a more balanced perspective of the policymaking process. It served as a way to limit the potential biases of individuals, as well my positionality as a young, white Anglophone Canadian woman conducting this research. It is important to note the role of bias because of how multiple hierarchies of power, including the national government in Haiti, international agencies, and civil society actors all contribute to the same policymaking process. To address this, Bennett and Checkel suggest that “it is possible to use process tracing to assess power explanations by paying careful attention to sequencing and to what information actors had and when they had it” (ibid. 34). In this research, emphasis was placed on the sequencing of events as a way to understand a given actor’s interpretation of the policymaking process and limit the role of individual bias in this research. In addition, multiple accounts of the same policymaking process allowed for similarities and differences in perspectives to be tracked and analyzed over time, setting the foundation for my empirical findings.

One of the difficulties for scholars is that “conclusive process tracing is good, but not all good process tracing is conclusive” (ibid. 30). Grappling with the idea of multiple explanations

of policy outcomes can be hard to navigate, because of the pressure put on researchers to provide conclusive findings. For complex social issues like gender equality, it is important to look at how both macro-level processes, including power and social discourses, and micro-level processes, including the role of specific actors, contribute to these processes over time.

One of the major issues in understanding the role of social movements in policymaking process is being able to establish a causal link between a given movement and an observed change. As Tilly (1999) suggests, this is one of the main methodological challenges for social and women's movement scholars. Again, certain methodological choices enabled me to address these challenges.

This research reconstructed the policymaking process that led to the adoption of the PN-EFH through the perspectives of a wide range of actors that were involved in this process. With a detailed analysis showing which actors were involved in which processes, the role of social movements and the nature of each actor's influence in these processes could be defined. My research focused on key actors at the national level and international entities that have been influential in this process. This included key past and present officials at the MCFDF, prominent female activists and key women's organizations, United Nations institutions including UNDP and UN Women, as well as Canadian officials at the Embassy in Port-au-Prince and at Global Affairs Canada in Ottawa.

A second way to address the question of causality through research is to "examine whether gender policy outcomes reflect the objectives of women's movements" (Spehar 2007: 77). Comparing the demands of women's movements with policy outcomes can provide evidence on how the perspectives of women's movement actors were articulated throughout the policymaking process. As part of the key informant interviews during this research, questions

were asked about the motives of different actors to advocate for this policy in the first place. In interviews, key informants discussed whether they considered this policy a success based on the motives that they articulated, so that aspirations and motives could be defined individually based on the different motivations each actor articulated instead of generalizing across sectors what the objectives were for this policy in the first place. Bennett and Checkel as well as Guigi's assumptions about the complex set of factors that contribute to policymaking processes provide the theoretical space to explore the distinct perceptions that different actors can have about the same policy.

Language and Translation

Most of the primary Haitian government documents used as part of this research were published in French. In addition, interviews in Haiti were conducted mainly in French with the support of a translator. In Ottawa, interviews were conducted in a combination of French and English. I have provided the translation for the large majority of the Haitian primary documents and interviews for inclusion in this write-up.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Post-Colonial Analyses and their Counterpoints

In his influential book *Global Governance and the New Wars* (2001), Mark Duffield discusses how war, conflict, and fragility became an increasingly important part of the development discourse in the 1990s. Over time, aid agencies have become involved in humanitarian assistance, conflict resolution and the reconstruction of war-torn societies. Duffield uses Foucault's concepts of "global governance" and "biopolitical control" to highlight how Western-controlled capitalist globalization has undermined development gains, eroded state authority and fueled unending wars in fragile states. In addition, as Duffield explains, the breakdown of order in fragile states is symptomatic of long-term social processes including economic crisis, the social exclusion of a wide strata of populations and internal conflict. Duffield's work (2007) also helps us understand how hierarchical political and economic structures interact with practices to reproduce domination, exclusion and conflict. To break this cycle, development could be reframed biopolitically as life enabling processes, but a radical shift of strategy in Western states would be required to focus on increasing the capacity and autonomy of state institutions in the South.

Denyse Côté's critique extends these post-colonial arguments to Haiti and adds a feminist angle, by showing how humanitarian intervention has marginalized and instrumentalized local and national agency, particularly that of the women's movement. In her (2014a) piece, Côté suggests that "we must admire the courage of these women who have lost everything and have, nevertheless, faced new pitfalls in a context where the international community possesses an immense power to de-legitimize endogenous social movements" (Côté 2014: 219-220, my translation). In another article (2014b), she focuses on the context after the 2010 earthquake to highlight how post-earthquake reconstruction in Haiti was socially constructed by international

humanitarian agencies, creating obstacles for women's organizations operating separately at the national and local levels. As such, Côté's perspective adds a feminist dimension to post-colonial analysis by looking at the complicated relations between international agencies and the domestic women's movement. Côté suggests that one reason these complicated relations occur is because of the different ways that international and national actors frame issues and priorities. In addition to its framing of the problem and solution, Côté's view suggests that another reason international intervention was 'neo-colonial' was because it displaced national women's agency and institutions from relief and reconstruction efforts. My research expands on how the framing of development highlighted by Côté in the post-quake period influenced the adoption of the PN-EFH in late 2014 and its implementation since, while also challenging this notion to explore how forms of agency can resist externally-driven approaches to development to foster societal transformation.

The post-colonial literature on Canada's engagement in Haiti suggests that it also fits this pattern of neo-colonial intervention. Walby and Monaghan argue that Canada's neo-liberal and security-oriented policies in Haiti have been detrimental to development and justice, because they are poorly adapted to the realities of Haiti's political economy (Walby and Monaghan: 2010). For her part, Shamsie argues that a fragile states lens reinforces social and economic biases that do not address Haiti's development needs (Shamsie 2011: 39–40). These analyses usefully reveal problems with Canada's engagement and the larger structural continuities that they reflect. Yet as noted by Baranyi (2014), those critiques tend to downplay the role of activists in the Canadian state, in international organizations and especially on the ground in Haiti who have counter-balanced external models in some instances.

Baranyi and Binette (2017) as well as Tiessen and Carrier (2015) address this gap by discussing the positive role of activism in maintaining a degree of gender sensitivity in Canada's cooperation with Haiti and other partner countries. As Baranyi and Binette note, over the past decade Canada "quietly but steadily supported the crafting of the strategic documents enshrining the Haitian state's commitments to a transformative approach to gender mainstreaming in all areas of public policy" (2017: 247) that culminated in the adoption of the PN-EFH in 2014. More broadly, Tiessen and Carrier consider the presence of "insider activists" within the Canadian state who pushed for a less conservative and more transformative approach to gender equality at the international level. Yet Baranyi and Binette pointedly noted that they had only begun to explore the gendered social construction of Canada's approach in Haiti, as we "still know little about how the agency of Haitian officials and activists, international gender equality norms, and gendered relations of power influenced negotiations among Canadian and Haitian actors at the project, program, or strategic levels" (ibid. 253).

Much research remains to be done, notably on the influence that activists inside and outside the Haitian state had on the PN-EFH adopted in late 2014 and publically presented in 2015, and the power and influence they can leverage in policymaking situations. My research seeks to address this enduring gap by first exploring the range of roles played by Haitian actors in the state and in the women's movement, through key informant interviews with selected Haitian government officials, civil society actors, and women's activists. In addition, my work seeks to expand the exploration of the roles played by certain international actors – notably by "insider activists" in the Canadian state that are mentioned by Tiessen and Carrier (2015), and non-governmental organizations which Baranyi and Binette (2017) see as having played important roles in that policy process. Understanding the dynamics through which those actors

sought to influence the policymaking process, and to what degree they were successful could be an important contribution of my research to current knowledge.

Academics like Baranyi and Binette (2017) suggest that studying how policymaking processes evolve is a starting point to explore the transformative potential of these processes. They suggest that in order to understand the institutional dynamics that leave space for creative agency, “it would be useful to trace the micro-level processes through which a sample of strategies and projects were socially constructed in Ottawa, Port-au-Prince, and elsewhere (ibid. 253). In their analysis, these authors also point to the influential role of international gender equality norms in policymaking processes, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. The PN-EFH becomes a platform to explore these dynamics politically, socially, economically and institutionally in a specific policy environment, and the impact that these dynamics can have on the gendered social construction of public policy.

My analysis of how different actors and processes contributed to the adoption of the PN-EFH also converges with Parpart’s (2014) work that looks at the limitations of gender mainstreaming approaches in development processes. According to Parpart, the limitations of gender mainstreaming stem from it being a “technical fix to the more fluid, complex nature of gendered practices” (Parpart 2014: 392). The focus of gender mainstreaming approaches is on measurable results through analytical tools like checklists and assessments. According to Parpart, societal forces play in opposition to and support for gender equality, within development organizations and broader society. She suggests that there needs to be more research into the impact of gendered hierarchies and gendered structural inequality, two constructs that are absent from gender mainstreaming approaches. The feminist institutional lens that I use in my research can be a response to this, and a lens through which to view the role that societal constructs play

in influencing policymaking processes.

Emerging Alternatives and Potential Spaces for Innovation

Further conceptual and empirical research is also required to understand how the security-development nexus impacts policymaking in Haiti and in other fragile contexts, and to identify how emerging alternatives and innovations can overcome the constraints imposed by neo-colonial approaches to development. Richmond (2007) and Donais (2012) provide an important starting point to discuss how alternatives can emerge from agency at the local level, how local agency forms hybrids with mainstream approaches, and how these hybrids have the potential to become transformative in certain fragile societies.

Richmond's idea of "emancipatory peace" highlights how local approaches to development involve a multitude of voices that are rooted within the larger structures of society. Emancipatory peace looks beyond formal institutional set-ups to engage with local realities, moving beyond transformation as institutional reform to explore transformation at the societal level. Richmond and Pogodda's (2016) work further extends these arguments to understand the interplay of forces contributing to peace in the modern state. They acknowledge how externally designed statebuilding and liberal peacebuilding strategies often "fail to connect with their target populations" (ibid. 3), because of the way they focus on normative and technical processes that emphasize global rather than regional or local power structures. These arguments validate the important role local approaches and actors play in political processes. Overall, Richmond's understanding of 'the local' is far more community based than the state and national level explored in this thesis. Despite this, Richmond and Pogodda's work flags important political dynamics that can be explored at the national level in Haiti. Richmond et. al's variant of post-colonial analysis suggests a departure from Duffield's critique by highlighting how alternative forms of agency sometimes emerge to contest the constraints imposed by neo-colonial

approaches to development, thus opening the door to understanding the transformative potential that such agency can have in political processes like the adoption and implementation of the PN-EFH and PA-EFH.

Donais (2012) places even more emphasis on the challenges of local ownership. For him, local ownership is based on the capacity of local stakeholders to create their own social institutions and shape policy decisions that impact their lives. Donais' conception of 'local' includes national and community-based actors. Donais reiterates the constraints of western policy frames on developmental and peace processes, suggesting that "aspects of international intervention, including donors' arrogance, bureaucratic cultures, geopolitical agendas and limited understanding of local complexities" (Donais 2009: 128) contribute to externally-defined visions of development. Under these circumstances, civil society's and national and local institutions' role in policy and developmental processes can be impeded. To address these constraints, Donais suggests that the liberal peace framework must move beyond the engineering of local ownership as buy-in to Western models, to local ownership as "the outcome of both negotiations and contestation, in which a range of actors, international and local alike, interact both competitively and collaboratively to define, refine, and shape understandings of what peacebuilding entails in terms of concrete outcomes, the processes by which it is enacted, and the configuration of legitimate authority over both definitions and outcomes" (Donais 2012: 32). Richmond's and Donais' work contribute a clear understanding of the constraints of international intervention on national and local agency. Their discussion of how power relations and wider political and economic dynamics impact agency have informed my research, especially the way their analysis of the constraints of international intervention can provide insight into the hurdles impacting the transformative potential of national and local actors in Haitian political processes.

Baranyi and Louis' (2016) article on the role that the disability movement has played in shaping public policy in Haiti provides another reference point. For that sector, they concluded that: "There are positive synergies between a strong social movement, dedicated state agencies, as well as by certain INGOs and inter-governmental organizations that support change in this domain, suggesting that it is that multi-actor and transnational agency that has driven somewhat inclusive reconstruction and development in Haiti" (ibid. 11, my translation). One of my initial hunches, which will be expanded on empirically in chapters 3 and 4, is that similar strategic partnerships have operated in the domain of gender equality, notably in the formulation and adoption the PN-EFH.

Feminist Institutionalisms

Chappell, Mackay and Kenny (2010) suggest that new institutionalism (NI) helps explain the role and impact of political actors on institutions, and the way institutions shape actors' practices. New institutionalism enables scholars to analyze "the factors influencing stability and change in political life, the development and impact of laws and policies, and the nature of the relationship between social movement actors and formal political institutions" (ibid. 579). A holistic understanding of the factors that are involved in policymaking takes into account the dynamic relationships between institutional architects, subjects, and their environments. By understanding the subtle and gradual ways institutions evolve due to exogenous and endogenous factors, NI can help to articulate the institutional dynamics of national-level policy making and explore the role of agency in these processes. Mobilizing NI in this research helped to inform how different key actors, through particular institutions, have advanced Haiti's gender equality agenda over the past decade.

As outlined by Krook and Mackay (2015), the field of NI has developed around four main approaches: rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism, organizational or

sociological institutionalism, and discursive or constructivist institutionalism. There are aspects of each that play into my theoretical framework. The focus of rational choice institutions on the strategic behaviour of actors highlights the complexity of political processes, and frame institutions as structures of power and influence informs how to discuss institutional dynamics as part of my research. Historical institutionalism, with its emphasis on path dependency and the timing and sequencing of events provides the basis for utilizing process tracing as my central research method to explore the policymaking process leading to the adoption of the PN-EFH and its implementation since. Organizational and sociological institutionalism places greater emphasis on how actors interact with institutions, and discursive or constructivist institutionalists elaborate on the role that norms play in shaping how actors act. These final two types of institutionalism help to inform how agency can impact institutional processes.

According to Chappell and Waylen (2013), despite their differences, all strands of institutionalism converge on two points. First, institutionalists agree that institutions constrain the behaviour of actors (ibid. 604), with an emphasis on how cultural perceptions and path dependencies impact the relationship between actors and institutions. Secondly, institutionalists suggest that these constraints arise from the interaction between formal rules, such as laws and policies, and more informal conventions and norms (ibid. 604). New institutionalism's strength comes from its sensitivity to the way institutions are shaped by political, social, and economic forces. Paying more attention to the nuances of how various power structures influence, operate and interact with institutions can help to improve our understanding of the complexities of institutional design, and how social movements and institutions can collaborate to produce more gender equitable outcomes.

Gendered Dimensions of New Institutionalism

Yet Chappell, Mackay and Kenny (2010) also criticize the mainstream new institutional literature for being almost gender blind. They explain why gender is an important dimension of institutional dynamics. As such, it is important to research how gender not only operates at the subjective and interpersonal level, where humans identify themselves and organize relations with others, but also as a feature of institutions and social structures. “To say that an institution is gendered means that constructions of masculinity and femininity are intertwined in the daily life or logic of political institutions rather than ‘existing out in society or fixed within individuals which they then bring whole to the institution’” (Chappell et. al 2010: 580). As these authors discuss, feminist institutionalism is emerging in response to these critiques. A feminist approach allows for a “gendered analysis of state institutions that highlight the gendered aspects of the norms, rules and practices at work within institutions and the concomitant effect these have on political outcomes, and foregrounds power, provides important new insights into the core preoccupations of the new institutionalisms” (ibid. 573). Feminist institutionalism also provides an opportunity to discuss the role of gender dynamics in broader institutional processes, both formal and informal.

Complementing Chappell et. al’s work, Mazur (2009) presents a detailed theoretical framework that assembles the different variables identified in the fields of feminist institutionalism and comparative feminist politics, to explain the degree of women’s movement and feminist impact on public policy. In terms of unpacking key institutional processes, Mazur is particularly interested in how structures of political opportunity, namely how certain institutional processes present opportunities for change that are or are not seized by women’s movements. This concept is particularly important for my first research question.

Framing Feminist New Institutionalism

In framing feminist institutionalism, Amy Mazur suggests a series of factors that can influence and impact policymaking processes, and what factors contribute to the development of a feminist policy inclusive of gendered norms (Mazur 2002: 41). Explanatory factors that might impact the women's movement and its degree of influence in the policymaking process include how the voice, power, assets and alliances of feminist actors allow them to spot and take advantage of opportunities in the process. These factors guided my analysis of the interplay of institutional processes and the impact they have had on the PN-EFH, and ties to the durability and prospects for the institutionalization of feminist reforms in the Haitian context. Observations from my field research and key government documents informed the presence of these factors in the policymaking process specific to PN-EFH. Many of these dynamics could only be traced through discussions with key informants – notably on the institutional dynamics that contributed to the elaboration of the PN-EFH.

Mazur's concepts of descriptive and substantive representation are important to understand how agency can be measured in political processes (ibid. 37). Descriptive representation establishes the importance of who is and is not present in the policymaking process, and the resulting impact on policy. Substantive representation establishes what interests, claims, and demands are put forward by different actors in policy processes, highlighting the importance of how different actors may have different visions of what they would like to see in terms of policy. Agency is not merely about opportunity, but the ability for actors to see and act on those opportunities. Mazur's conception of the opportunities and constraints in policymaking processes, directly influenced by new institutional theory, guides my analysis of agency and institutional processes based on process tracing.

Feminist institutional scholarship like that of Mazur (2009) highlights the role of actors and power dynamics at play in policymaking processes, and echoes the “constraints” discussed by Richmond and Donais. However, feminists take this one step further to show how these constraints specifically impact women’s organizations and feminist actors in institutional processes. My critical feminist institutional approach builds on Richmond and Donais’ post-colonial analysis in a way that allows me to explore national level policymaking in Haiti as an important space for agency, using feminist institutionalism to expand on the gendered dimensions of that space, and explore how policy networks and other strategic partnerships can sometimes combine national and international agency with state and civil society organization agency to influence political processes. The combination of post-colonial and feminist institutional analysis allows me to think critically about the constraints of agency in policymaking processes, under what circumstances the institutional environment is conducive to the agency of specific actors, and what this means for feminist activists in Haiti. Building an understanding of the institutional actors and social dynamics that impact the policymaking process may help identify future spaces for multi-stakeholder collaboration within Haitian policymaking processes, as will be discussed in the final chapter.

One key limitation of feminist institutionalism, including Mazur as well as Krook and Mackay’s work, is how feminist institutionalism has largely been conceptualized in terms of policymaking processes in northern countries. The assumption that countries have the strength and resources to carry out such institutional reforms seems not to extend to southern contexts like Haiti where political, social, and economic fragility characterize public life, and international donors have intervened in the absence of a weak national government. The connection between gender and fragile states is also important to discuss because of how fragility

can shape or impact gender inequality, and gender ideologies and practices can also contribute to fueling fragility. As such, it seems important to explore the relevance of feminist institutionalism in southern contexts, especially in fragile, developing countries. A critical institutionalist perspective can help to address the theoretical limitations of feminist institutionalism by bringing post-colonial critiques into our understanding of the constraints on agency and institutional change in such environments. Social movement theory can be mobilized to further define the role of agency in policymaking processes and explore the influence of social movements on policy outcomes.

Feminist Social Movement Theory

Banaszak et. al's (2003) definition of "women's movements" informs how I will characterize and define that category in my research. They conceptualize women's movements as those "whose definition, content, leadership, development, or issues are specific to women and their gender identity" (ibid. 2), which can include feminist movements, liberal women's groups, and even some conservative women's organizations. This definition provides an analytical flexibility to understand the women's movement in a multi-faceted dimension, at both an activist and organizational level. It gives me the ability to identify actors that operate at different levels of society to influence the policymaking process, while still considering them as connected to the women's movement but just in different ways. This definition is "distinctive in its critique of state institutions and society as patriarchal" (ibid 2), which align with aspects of my post-colonial critique and feminist institutional analysis that define the constraints of institutions on policymaking processes. From here, I can expand on the role that social movement actors can play to counter those constraints in ways that are often understudied in post-colonial and feminist institutional perspectives.

Some scholars suggest that broad definition of social movements is necessary to understand the interplay between agency and state level processes. As Sidney Tarrow suggests, a social movement involves “collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities” (Tarrow 1994: 3). Andrea Spehar, a scholar researching the impact of social movements on political processes in Croatia and Slovenia, suggests that Tarrow’s definition “allows the inclusion of both institutionally-oriented and extra-institutional activities and leaves room for actors in women’s movements to still be considered part of these movements when they enter institutionalized political arenas” (Spehar 2007: 46). This definition shows that actors, coalitions, and networks that seek to influence policy can operate, alone, whether individually or collaboratively, towards shared goals.

How policy processes are socially constructed is directly tied to the power and influence exerted by actors over political, social, and economic processes. In the literature on social movements, power is understood as somebody’s ability to affect another’s goals, whereas influence implies an active effort to try to make others realize one’s aim (Spehar 2007: 56). As policymaking processes evolve overtime, the dynamics of power and influence of actors can shift. Robert Cox (1987) also discusses how power is intimately linked to influence. This converges in some respects with Duffield’s post-colonial perspective, but it is more sensitive to the way power relations are socially constructed in different contexts. We will return to Cox’s discussion of the social construction of power relations when we examine the institutional dynamics that influenced the adoption and initial implementation of the PN-EFH.

When expanding on the nature of the political opportunity structure in a given system, it is important to look at how social movements can influence political processes. One of the most

difficult aspects to discern is whose viewpoint constitutes success or political influence in these processes, given their social construction. As my research provides insight into the role that social movements have played in the elaboration and implementation of the PN-EFH, it is important to understand that as Miriam Smith (1998) suggests, a political opportunity only exists if the actors define it as such. For this reason, “Looking at structural opportunities without considering the cognitive processes which intervene between structure and action can be very misleading” (Della Porta and Diani 2006: 18). In my analysis of the political opportunity structure for the PN-EFH, it is important to understand the conceptions of available opportunities from the perspective of different actors to recognize where they see their own prospects for transformative agency within this process. My analysis sought to gain insight into multiple perspectives of the policymaking process and outcomes, including international, national, and civil society actors, to provide a balanced picture of the policymaking process as a whole, the strength and limitations of the PN-EFH, and what the gender equality agenda should look like moving forward in Haiti. These viewpoints were articulated through the perspectives of various key informants interviewed, and are reflected where possible throughout Chapters 3-5.

Social movement theory informs this research by providing a pathway to explore the role of agency in political processes. In the Haitian context, these questions are empirically important for two reasons. First, it is important to understand the reasoning as to why the PN-EFH was adopted, and how social movement influenced this process. Understanding who within the women’s movement made these actions possible, what strategies were employed, and which channels the women’s movement gained influence provides insight into what circumstances allow for transformative agency to flourish and where potential spaces for multi-actor collaboration could be in the future. A feminist institutional framework highlights how

institutions matter and shows how actors can impact them, while social movement theory can help to elaborate on the strategies and tools used to influence state machineries and policies at the national and international level.

Summary of the Theoretical Framework

Feminist new institutionalism is the starting point for my understanding of the gendered dynamics of agency in the adoption and implementation of Haiti's PN-EFH and PA-EFH. New institutionalism offers tools enabling feminists to better capture dynamics of continuity and change. Feminist research can help new institutionalist scholars to better understand the gendered nature of formal institutions, the operation and importance of informal institutions, the relations of power within and across institutions, and the sources and variable outcomes of attempted institutional change. Combining institutional and feminist lenses offers new insights to understand complex relationships of structure and agency that take place in this policymaking arena. Identifying and understanding the formal and informal institutional processes that led to the adoption of the PN-EFH in Chapter 3 informs which key processes and actors I analyze to discuss the role of agency in the policymaking process and its transformative potential in Chapters 4 and 5.

Drawing from Amy Mazur's (2009) strand of feminist new institutionalism, I focus on the interplay between women's movements, the state, and public policy. This strand of feminist research overlaps with other feminist comparative policy research such as feminist policy formation and state feminism, but is distinct in its mobilization of social movement theory to discuss the connections between women's movements and policy development. The value-added of Mazur's work is the way in which she seeks to identify trends, dynamics and determinants of feminist policy formation, building connections between social movement and institutional theory. This is an important contribution to my discussion of the implementation of

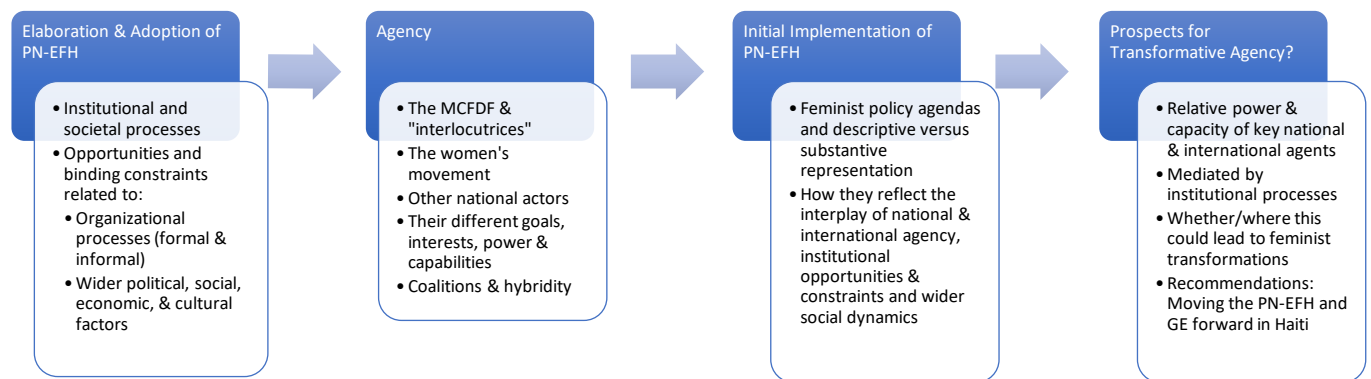
the PN-EFH and the evaluation of its policy outcomes in Chapter 4, and agency and its transformative potential in Chapter 5.

My framework also allows me to draw from Foucauldian post-colonial literature on international intervention, while maintaining a distance from its deterministic tendencies. This enables me to build on the more nuanced critical approach of Richmond (2007), Donais (2012), and Baranyi et. al (2014), to explore the role of agency in this process and the possibility of hybrid outcomes in certain contexts. My critical feminist NI lens also rejects the tendency of liberal feminist NI to have an uncritical understanding of capitalist globalization and other structures that intersect with gendered differences. I will thus use a critical post-colonial lens as a basis for my theoretical framework, drawing from feminist analysis to build on Richmond et al.'s post-colonial view of hybridity and creative agency.

In summary, this research will place the state at the centre of the analysis to discuss how the PN-EFH and its action plan were socially constructed over time as policy processes, and what they reveal about the opportunities/constraints for agency that the women's movement and other actors used/confronted throughout the policymaking process. The analysis will make use of both on chronological and thematic factors. Agency is an intervening factor in both the institutional processes that led to the adoption of the PN-EFH and its initial implementation since. Therefore, addressing it in the second column of Diagram 1, on the following page, has allowed me to collect data on how it has influenced both the adoption and initial implementation of the PN-EFH. Critical feminist institutional theory and post-colonial concepts are mobilized to analyze the elaboration and adoption of the PN-EFH in Chapter 3. The recent record of feminist policy influence in Haiti sets the groundwork to discuss the implementation of the PN-EFH in Chapter 4. Examining the strengths and limitations of the PN-EFH in Chapters 3 and 4 lay the

foundation to discuss prospects for transformative agency in Chapter 5. Social movement theory is also mobilized in the final chapter to discuss these prospects and where potential opportunities may lie for future Haitian activism and policymaking.

Diagram 1: Theoretical Framework for Studying the PN-EFH in Haiti



Chapter 3: Process Tracing of the PN-EFH in Haiti

The Elaboration and Adoption of the National Policy & Action Plan

Through process tracing, this research has looked to gain insight on the key interactions between actors and the institutional relationships that defined the elaboration of the PN-EFH adopted in 2014, and have shaped policy outcomes since. This timeline relies heavily on the impressions of key individuals whose lived experiences shaped this policymaking process. By highlighting institutional processes that preceded the adoption of the policy in 2014, my goal is two-fold: to present these processes in a manner that emphasizes the policies and institutions at the international and national level that contributed to this policymaking process, and to discuss the opportunities/constraints for transformative agency that resulted from the elaboration and adoption of the PN-EFH. The role of external actors, including country donors and international organizations, is discussed in terms of the complex tensions between national capacity-building and international intervention that they embodied.

Key informants suggested that since the Ministère à la Condition Féminine et aux Droits des Femmes (MCFDF) was officially created in 1994, there have been three main periods of growth for MCFDF and the elaboration of the PN-EFH. The years 1994 and 1995 set the foundation for the ministry and its work. The period from 2004 to 2012/2013 was the policy development phase that saw the initial elaboration of some mechanisms that would define the plan and lay the groundwork for the PN-EFH. At the end of 2014, the PN-EFH was adopted by President Martelly, and in May 2015 the PA-EFH was officially presented. Since the end of 2014, this policy has been in its implementation phase.

1994-1995: The Institutionalization of the MCFDF

From the beginning, both national and international actors have played a key role in the presence of gender equality on the national agenda, and institutionalizing gender in Haitian national institutions. In discussing the creation of the MCFDF in 1994, key informants

highlighted how the ministry itself and its work would not have been possible without the women's movement and key activists. In Côté's (2014a) piece, she documents how women's groups took advantage of the new democratic space following the end of the Cédras military regime and Aristide's return to the constitutional presidency, "to obtain the creation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Women's Rights (MCFDF), with its first incumbent being chosen from among their own". (Côté 2014a: 212). Haitian officials interviewed who were privy to the process that led to the ministry's creation echoed these sentiments, and emphasized the key role of women's organizations and their agency in informing the policymaking propositions. As one former key informant in particular suggested in their interview, "women's organizations were at the base of the propositions, organization, and foundation of the ministry." They also suggested that while it may have been the influence of the women's movement that pushed for the ministry in the first place, it was also backed up by formal processes that were at play at the state and international levels, which converged to advance international norms around gender equality.

For instance, in the PN-EFH document, specific international conventions and statutes are mentioned as being foundational documents in the creation and initial work of the MCFDF. These include, "the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (Convention Bélem do Pará), The Program of Action on Population and Development (ICPD), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)" (Gouvernement d'Haïti 2014: 1). Specifically for the Inter-American Belem do Para Convention for the Eradication of Violence Against Women signed in 1994, Côté mentions how it was the feminist movement that pushed the Haitian government to ratify it (Cote 2014a: 212). At the national level, one key political development around the time

of the MCFDF's creation was the internationally-assisted reinstatement of President Aristide's government, which many feminist activists had supported. The Haitian women's movement both contributed to and took advantage of this opportunity for institutional change.

Key events preceding the creation of the MCFDF reinforce how the formation of MCFDF was the result of influence at both the national and international level, in conjunction with women's organizations who exercised their agency throughout the process to influence key political decisions. For example, in September 1994, an international conference was held on women's issues where a key report on the state of gender in Haiti was presented. Key officials interviewed talked about how sending an official delegation to the conference was a direct result of influential individuals related to the women's movement who advocated for Haiti's official presence. Côté echoes these sentiments, mentioning that it was the instigation of the women's movement that led the Haitian government to participate in the Beijing Conference in 1995 (Côté 2014a: 213). Prior to this conference, a plan led by key women's movement actors had already been in place to create the ministry, but its utility needed to be reinforced to key officials in government. This conference helped to illustrate to government officials why a women's ministry was an important component of national machinery for gender equality in the context of the implementation of the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of which Haiti was a signatory. In October 1994, in the month following this conference, the MCFDF was formally constituted.

International conventions such as CEDAW have mechanisms to hold governments accountable to their engagements towards gender equality. For governments, signing this convention is a commitment to take action. For social movement actors, international conventions are accountability mechanisms that can be utilized as a form of agency when

governments do not uphold their international commitments. In this case of this policy, international norms can be used by actors as leverage to advocate for gender equality at the national level. One of the characteristics of many international gender equality norms, from CEDAW onwards, is that they contain provisions for periodic national and international reviews, reflecting the long-standing recognition by the transnational gender equality movement that international-national interactions need to continue over time to ensure progressive implementation (Martinez 2008). However, as was suggested by Andrea Spehar in discussing Croatia and Slovenia, it can also “be argued that international gender equality norms seem to be rather weak mechanisms of influence without the support of national political actors” (Spehar 2007 233).

Upon its founding, one of the MCFDF’s first tasks was the preparation of a report on the state of gender in Haiti that would be presented at the fourth UN Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, in the year that followed. At this conference, a Platform for Action was established, as it was concluded that previous strategies from UN conferences on women failed to address the inequalities between women and men (Reichert 1998 374). This conference brought women’s issues to the forefront of global attention, institutionalizing an international norm that women had the right to demand for their needs to be addressed. This formative global moment was another important opportunity that set the stage to discuss the central role of women in society, and the mechanisms through which their needs should be reinforced. It also became another way for women’s groups to reinforce the centrality of these issues moving forward on the national development agenda. However, unlike CEDAW, this international step was more aspirational, and did not include mechanisms to hold governments accountable.

Regarding these early years of the MCFDF, one official I interviewed spoke about the main priorities being the collection of data for the report presented at Beijing, but also about the importance of their work to get out to rural areas and communes to educate about services, the role of women's organizations in society, and raising awareness about the key pillars of women's role in public life. It was a delicate balance between preparing reports, taking part in forums on gender equality at the international level, and understanding what needed to be done at home to address societal and cultural issues associated with gender inequality. Oftentimes, the institutional dynamics at play enabled gender to be discussed with the international community. However, it came at the cost of substantive actions nationally that would shift the societal norms and address the needs and services of women's everyday lives. According to one former MCFDF official interviewed, obligations at the international level, including international reporting and taking part in conferences overshadowed progress on substantive actions nationally. To an extent, international engagement on gender equality was necessary to hold Haiti accountable to their commitments. However, comments like these provided by key informants highlight the importance of understanding the extent to which these international commitments created an enabling environment that allowed for gendered norms to be ingrained in policies and actions in ways that went beyond discursive commitments.

Key feminist institutionalist concepts can be mobilized to understand the connection between international norms, gendered institutions and creative agency. In Mazur's sense, formal mechanisms like CEDAW provide ongoing institutional opportunities for national agency at both the government and societal levels, by establishing mechanisms to activate gender equality in tangible ways to a range of national actors. Since 1994, social movement actors in Haiti have continuously used both binding international commitments like CEDAW and more informal

international norms like the Beijing Platform as a form of agency, that is, to advocate for gender equity ideals to be upheld politically and institutionally by the national government. Yet while international norms played an important role in influencing the formation of the MCFDF, key developments on gender equality since 1994 suggest that upholding gender equality commitments internationally is only one of the necessary pieces to ensure the substantive representation of gender equality in political and public life. Côté's documentation of the historical actions of the women's movement in the institutional processes leading to the creation of the MCFDF, coupled with the observations of key informants interviewed who suggested that it was women's actors that had advocated for many of the institutional steps for gender equality at the international level, reinforce the claims and interests of women's movement actors in pursuing gendered political outcomes in the Haitian context.

From 2004 to 2012: Foundational Steps towards the PN-EFH

In February of 2004, President Aristide was removed from power, and a government of transition, under heavy international influence -- including by the UN and the United States -- was installed. That same year, the language of the *Loi organique du MCFDF* was adjusted to emphasize the managerial and administrative role of MCFDF moving forward. Some key informants confirmed that this adjustment to the *loi organique* that guided the MCFDF's work could be partly attributed to the removal of President Aristide and the momentum built from the transitional government. A ministerial statement by MCFDF minister Adeline Magloire Chancy suggested that the tools that the MCFDF had been given itself during the transition period put it "in a better position to provide leadership for advocacy and to be involved in any process towards justice and socio-economic progress" (Gouvernement d'Haiti (n.d): 299). In 2004, the *loi organique* now solidified the two (2) essential functions of the MCFDF: the defense and the promotion of human rights for women, and the use of gender analysis in policies and programs

(Gouvernement d’Haiti (n.d): 311). To respond effectively, the MCFDF developed an orientation framework in which three main action programs were designed, including institutional strengthening for the MCFDF (1), actions on the status of women, including addressing violence against women and poverty (2) and the promotion and defense of women’s rights through updates in proposed laws (3) (Gouvernement d’Haiti (n.d): 312). All projects developed were to be part of these three action programs.

Former MCFDF officials also suggested that the years of 2004-2009 were lively years at the MCFDF because of the people who worked there at the time. According to a former MCFDF official interviewed, during this time period there was an emphasis on gender training for MCFDF officials, and key people came together to work on specific issues and policies related to gender equality. The clear institutional shift in regard to the role of MCFDF in 2004, momentum from key officials at MCFDF, and the continued advocacy of women’s organizations and key activists enabled continued progress on the national machinery for gender equality in Haiti and attempts to get women’s issues on the map through a national law. The following section underlines how formal and informal processes played a role in these developments and in the work of the MCFDF during this time period, highlighting opportunities for transformative agency throughout the PN-EFH policymaking process.

Formulation of the “Diagnostic des Inégalités de Genre”

In that same time period of 2007-2008, the “Diagnostic des Inégalités de Genre”, a study looking at the state of gender in Haiti, began to be drafted. This diagnostic study was meant to understand the state of gender equality in the country and the role of women in society. It was undertaken as a result of actions taken by the women’s movement, the national government, and the influence of international institutions including the Beijing Platform. This report, coupled

with 2004-2009 being “lively years” for the MCFDF, ensured continued momentum towards the PN-EFH by setting the foundation to understand the nature of gender inequality.

2008: Institutionalization of the “Concertation Nationale contre les violences faites aux femmes”

Another institutional outcome that got women’s issues on the map during this time period came on July 16th, 2008, when the “Concertation Nationale contre les violences faites aux femmes” was formally constituted. The Concertation Nationale was seen as a “political continuance that saw its foundations in the resurgence of the women’s movement following the end of the Duvalier regime in 1986” (Concertation Nationale 2011: 13, my translation). This document confirms that the coalition was primarily a product of women’s movement agency. Its aims included getting certain laws adopted and implemented, and continuing momentum towards institutionalizing gender equality at the national level. Commentary on the limitations faced by this coalition as they worked towards these aims through a multi-disciplinary approach paint a cautious picture of the impact these types of mechanisms can have on society. For example, a contextual history of the coalition discusses some of the challenges they have faced implementing measures and policies to address gender-based violence, suggesting how “the absence of a strategic portfolio, of global norms on intervention protocols, shortcomings in technical and institutional capacity, and financing have limited the ability for these policy actions to lead to transformative changes on an institutional and societal level” (Concertation Nationale 2011: 13). Many of these key themes were echoed throughout the policymaking process leading to the adoption of the PN-EFH, as documented in the second half of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. This could be a signal that many of the same technical and institutional capacities have yet to be wholly addressed in policymaking processes in Haiti.

The characterization of 2004-2009 as lively years of the MCFDF, coupled with institutional steps like the beginning of the drafting of the Diagnostic des Inégalités de Genre and the adoption of a gender-based violence law in 2008 signalled a renewed effort on gender equality efforts in Haiti. At the national government level, this also coincided with election of President Preval in 2006, who had a mandate to put more capacity in place following the governance crisis and the fall the Aristide's second government in 2004, and a transitional government in 2005. Key MCFDF officials and women's movement actors ensured that gender equality remained on the Haitian policy agenda, and that the foundation continued to be solidified to set the stage for the PN-EFH and PA-EFH in 2014/2015.

January 12th, 2010: Earthquake

Much of the progress that was being made on this portfolio since 2007 came to a halt on January 12th, 2010, when Haiti was struck by a catastrophic earthquake that levelled areas of Port-au-Prince and sent the country into crisis. In many respects, the 2010 earthquake reinforced the marginalization of women in Haitian society. In the wake of the earthquake, women and girls faced additional hardships. As was discussed in a Human Rights Watch report, these hardships included:

A lack of access to family planning, prenatal and obstetric care; a need to engage in survival sex to buy food for themselves and their children; and sexual violence.

The crisis is reflected in pregnancy rates in displaced person camps that are three times higher than in urban areas before the earthquake, and rates of maternal mortality that rank among the world's worst (Human Rights Watch 2011: 1).

The vulnerability and marginalization faced by women had existed prior to the earthquake but was exacerbated in the post-quake and reconstruction periods. Politically, socially, and economically, the country was not in a position to handle the catastrophe.

For gender equality, this crisis meant two things. As a marginalized group, women were impacted in various and important ways and a lack of political, social and economic capacity made it so that their needs were not met. Secondly, as a political issue already on the periphery of governmental priorities, gender equality was moved lower on the list of immediate concerns in the post-disaster reconstruction process.

The response to the 2010 earthquake also magnified the limitations placed on national-level processes by the intervention of the international community. In the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness that was supplemented by the 2008 Accra Agenda for Action, donor and recipient countries recognized that mutual accountability was necessary for aid effectiveness. They also recognised the need to jointly monitor progress towards results as common interests, concluding that recipient countries and donors should establish mutually agreed frameworks providing reliable assessments of performance, transparency and accountability. As noted in the post-colonial critiques of Duffield and Côté, the long history of international involvement in Haiti highlights the negative impact these relationships have had on Haitian development and policymaking processes. The relationship between the international community and Haiti has been in constant response to political, social, and economic shocks. The consultative machinery and long-term develop plans necessary to establish these policy frameworks include a great amount of consultation and time that is not possible in time of crisis, regime change, or directly after natural disasters. This has fueled a reactive approach to development in Haiti, leading to the ineffective use of limited technical and financial resources.

In the wake of the earthquake, a Post-Disaster Needs Assessment (PDNA) was published by the World Bank in 2010. It was driven almost completely by international agencies, and was criticized for being largely gender-blind. As was suggested in the Gender Shadow Report led by

the Haiti Equality Initiative, “Comprised of eight themes in total, the PDNA only addresses gender explicitly in one theme—that of ‘cross-cutting issues’” (Haiti Gender Shadow Report 2010: 2). The limited integration of gender into the PDNA highlights both technical and political deficiencies. Politically, the very limited engagement of national level actors in the development of this assessment highlights a large gap in institutional relationships between national and international actors to jointly understand and respond to the gendered dimensions of post-disaster reconstruction. Technically, an opportunity was missed to work jointly on this assessment and address the lack of national capacity to respond to the needs of women following the earthquake.

After the 2010 earthquake, poor coordination between international and national actors was magnified, and had a direct impact on the livelihoods of women. Even with the influx of help from international organizations in the post-quake period, the marginalization of women persisted, both politically and socially. As noted by Human Rights Watch:

18 months after the earthquake, the voices of women affected by the earthquake have been excluded from the reconstruction process—even though women are integral to the country’s economy. Moreover, initial optimism felt by international aid agencies and donors that access to maternal health would improve in areas affected by the disaster has not been realized for all women and girls. This is despite an outpouring of international support and of new, free services run by international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) that promised to remove the geographic and economic barriers that had historically prevented women and girls from accessing health care (Human Rights Watch 2011: 1-2).

Cote’s analysis that the the international community’s reactive approach to development following the 2010 earthquake was unable to address the marginalization of women because of

the disconnection between their response and the national realities in the Haitian context is largely correct. The largely siloed approach of the international community failed to adhere to the need for joint accountability mechanisms to monitor progress, and the need to involve national stakeholders in their responses.

2011: Amendments to the 1987 Constitution

Current and former MCFDF officials and civil society actors that discussed the earthquake period in their interviews mainly emphasized how the earthquake had stalled efforts to keep gender equality on the policy agenda, including progress on the gender diagnostic report that began in 2007-2008, and how it further marginalized women and girls. On the other hand, the post-quake reconstruction period did spur changes to the 1987 Constitution by President Martelly in May 2011, which included specific amendments to increase the role of women in political and public life. Two amendments recognized gender equitable ideals in political and public life, with article 17.1 setting a gender quota of at least 30% women in the public service, and Article 31.1 applying the same quota to Haiti's political parties.

It was key feminist actors that pushed for the gender quota's inclusion in the amendments to the 1987 constitution. As was discussed in Dumont's (2017) documentation of the motives for the constitutional amendments, "Within the state, the Minister for Culture and Communication at the time, Marie-Laurence Lassègue, supported efforts in the Haitian National Assembly when these amendments were voted on". As an Alterpresse article in September 2011 added, "Lassègue also credited the efforts of Haitian feminist movement groups for their support of the quota", including Fanm Yo La (Women are Present) who arranged a press conference and meetings with President Martelly to add the gender quota provisions" (Alterpresse, September 7, 2011). Dumont's documentation highlights how these constitutional amendments reflected the influence of key women's organizations outside the state and feminist officials inside the state

bureaucracy. The enabling environment was the result of key feminist actors working together inside and outside of the state to influence policymaking processes.

Citing international norms on gender equality and viewing these developments through a political lens, a couple of MCFDF key informants suggested that these amendments had the potential to spur political developments that could be advantageous for women in political and public life. A window of opportunity coming off the heels of post-earthquake reconstruction made these efforts possible. However, the officials who suggested that these amendments could have been a positive step for gender did not seem wholly convinced that this positive outcome had actually been achieved. They suggesting that there were large gaps between the intentions of what the amendments were supposed to achieve versus what actually happened to reflect these amendments institutionally, especially in the national government beyond MCFDF. On a discursive level, these amendments could be seen as a political signal acknowledging the role of women in political life, and as way to institutionalize gender equality. However, the effectiveness of these amendments remains highly contested among MCFDF officials and civil society actors alike, mainly due to their inability to drastically change the limited integration of gendered ideals in national level political processes.

2012-2015: From the Diagnostic Report to the Policy and its Action Plan

As time went on following the amendment's adoption in 2011, some suggested that the gender quota has had very little impact in affecting female representation in parliament and did not lead to substantive gains for women in terms of their representation at a political level. One such critic was political sociologist Julien Sainvil, who suggested that these gender quota amendments could "be viewed as an instrumentalization of the women's movement, a small achievement that actually weakens the capacity of women's groups to demand more substantive gains" (Alterpresse, May 22, 2012). This critique stems from the fact that the gender quota could

be seen as a way to appease women's groups "by providing them with a rather ineffective institutional gain" (Dumont 70). The ability for these institutional changes to have a profound impact on gender equality in Haiti was constrained by the fact that these amendments did not reflect or systematically address why women's representation in politics was low in the first place, and the root causes of gender inequality in the Haitian context. In light of these constraints, constitutional amendments alone were unable to significantly shift the narrative towards gender equality in Haiti or ensure the substantive representation of women in political or public life. The failure for these policies to be implemented suggests the need for a more systematic approach to ensuring the integration of gender in political and social life.

Despite these critiques, in 2012, the effort for women's equality in Haiti through a gender policy was restarted by the women's movement and key insider activists. After delays and adjustments following the earthquake, the "Diagnostic des Inégalités de Genre" (initiated in 2007) was officially published in January 2013 (MCFDF: 2013). Part of the adjustments that were made reflected the new reality of women in the post-quake period. As was suggested by a key informant speaking about the orientation of MCFDF officials and women's organizations following the earthquake, "we said this time we have to elaborate our own policy of equality based on our own reality and we elaborated the gender inequality diagnosis in Haiti. That diagnosis was updated in 2010 after the earthquake and it was presented in 2011 and 2012, to give a better view of the reality and future policy directions." The role of the women's movement and key insider activists were crucial to ensure a better view of the reality, and the direction in which this policy should go moving forward. Eventually, this diagnostic report informed a survey that was distributed as a means to continue to consult women's organizations

and civil society as the policymaking process leading up to the adoption of the PN-EFH progressed.

Following this diagnostic report and consultative study, key Haitian actors and officials now had the information and evidence to understand the nature of gender inequality in the Haiti context, and what needed to happen next to ensure these issues would be addressed institutionally. What they lacked were key technical and financial resources to make this become a reality. Two Canadian projects, supported by the federal government and carried out by separate agencies, addressed these gaps. Understanding the context of these projects and their key outcomes is important to reflect on their potential to address gaps in the capacity of Haitian institutions to systematically address gender equality in public life. Final summaries and reports from these projects, obtained through an Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) request, were mobilized in my research to reflect on lessons learned from this type of collaboration between actors, including potential opportunities for growth and the binding constraints that these initiatives presented.

The first, named “Projet d’appui au renforcement de la gestion publique en Haiti (PARGEP)” was a project that worked to strengthen the ability of Haiti’s public administration carry out gender-based analysis. Its emphasis was mainly on capacity building to strengthen the capabilities of Haitian officials and the government to coordinate on gender equality, improve gender equity and results-based management in government policies and practices, and support administrative modernization for human resources and public financial management. This project was a partnership between the National School for Public Administration (ENAP) in Haiti, and a school of public administration located in Quebec City which acted as the Canadian project executing agency. The Government of Quebec also provided technical assistance to the

project. The project began in May 2008, and concluded in August 2015. The second, “Projet D’appui Technique en Haiti” (PATH) was a project aimed at strengthening the technical and strategic capacities of governmental institutions to facilitate the implementation of Haiti's National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction. This included support for the development and dissemination of the PN-EFH. The project was led by Agriteam Canada from January 2008-December 2016.

One Canadian consultant interviewed who was involved with one of these projects beginning around 2012-2013 highlighted how it was Haitian officials who conducted and undertook the diagnostic report and the consultative survey that followed, reinforcing the fact that the national capacity and political will was there to conduct these actions at the national level. However, this official said that there was a disconnection and lack of knowledge and expertise when it came time to apply these studies and actually write the policy document. They needed help to translate the diagnostic report into a policy on gender equality in Haiti, making the necessary connections between their findings from the diagnostic study and the survey to a results-based policy.

In discussing this with other officials, it became apparent that the capacity to get gender equality on the agenda, and the formulation of the gender diagnostic study and consultative survey depended on key individuals at the MCFDF and activists in women’s organizations. The consultative process that led to the diagnostic study and survey came about due to key individuals at the bureaucratic level and the pressures of civil society for a participatory approach. Most of the officials interviewed at the bureaucratic level also discussed how they have had ties to the women’s movement throughout their careers, suggesting that they were “insider activists” or “interlocutrices” in the policy development process. As was reflected by

key informants, the main team that was involved in the formulation of this policy was comprised of MCFDF, Canada and key Haitian women's actors, with UN Women also mentioned in a supporting role. In terms of the higher levels of government, it was the Chef du Cabinet from both the President and Prime Minister's offices that were most involved in the policy development process, with the President and Prime Minister only available for major public announcements. However, the bulk of the work on this policy was carried out in the MCFDF bureaucracy.

For the formative period of the policy document, both Haitian and international officials spoke about how these key moments were all about the people that were in positions of power at the time. As one Canadian official mentioned, the period of collaboration during the formative years of the document between 2012-2013 was a "magic moment" of all the right people with a collaborative mindset coming together to make the policy happen. It was a result of networking with the national government, key international partners including Canada and UN Women, and Haitian civil society. The collaborative mindset was apparent in the way that Canadian officials emphasized the capacity of Haitian officials that were already there and helped to ensure this capacity was reflected in policy outcomes. As was suggested by a key informant, one of the concrete outcomes of this collaboration was the determination of the main orientations of the policy, as outlined later in this chapter. The institutional dynamic elaborated on by this key informant in 2012/2013 validates how the elaboration of the PN-EFH was a nationally-derived process, but required international technical and financial assistance to translate this vision to a cohesive policy document.

The PN-EFH and PA-EFH

The introduction to the PN-EFH suggests that this policy formation process was a culmination of a multitude of actors working together: notably the MCFDF as the lead

department, with other government departments, civil society organizations, international donors, and INGOs contributing to this effort. The policy was constructed through a platform where individuals needed to work together across sectors, to integrate gender equality into all parts of public life, including politically, socially, economically and culturally. However, this narrative does not explain the dynamics of how different stakeholders interacted and engaged throughout the policymaking process, and the impact this has had on policy outcomes. These empirical gaps were explored in key informant interview questions that emphasized the institutional dynamics of actors throughout the policymaking process. These results will be presented in the last part of Chapter 3 and in Chapter 4.

The PN-EFH, a political and legal commitment to engage on equality between women and men and respect the fundamental rights of women in the Haitian state, was officially adopted at the end of 2014. It sought to address a number of public debates on the “problematique” of gender equality in society and operationalize a plan to ensure gender’s holistic reflection in Haitian institutions politically, socially, and economically. It outlined three main objectives, including the elimination of all forms of discrimination for women, promotion and enforcement of respect for equality between women and men in all public domains, and sought to reinforce the power of women’s actions (Gouvernement d’Haiti 2014 3). The document itself is broken down into four chapters: describing the nature of gender inequality in Haiti (1), outlining the foundation, vision, and principal directions of the policy (2), defining the policy’s orientations and strategic objectives (3), and setting out the mode of governance for this policy (4). This iteration of the PN-EFH is to span twenty years, from 2014-2034.

The corresponding action plan, entitled “Plan D’Action National D’Égalité Femmes-Hommes 2014-2020” (PA-EFH) was released in May 2015 but was officially launched on

International Women's Day in March 2015. The PA-EFH itself is a six-year implementation plan that outlines measures for action, including relevant indicators, responsible departments, and key partners for collaboration. While some criticize the action plan for being "light", many current and former MCFDF officials attest to the fact that it does at least provide a starting point for orienting the implementation of this policy.

This policy's adoption highlights specific discursive gains that were important to validate the claims, interests, and demands of social movement actors that had advocated for the PN-EFH and PA-EFH's adoption. Firstly, the statement by Haitian state officials at the beginning of the policy document, including President Martelly, Prime Minister Laurent Salvador Lamothe, and MCFDF minister Marie Yanicke Mézile acknowledged gender inequality as a pervasive issue in Haitian political and public life. Secondly, this policy operationalized a plan to ensure gender's reflection in Haitian institutions politically, socially, and economically. Finally, the policy outlined key mechanisms like the Table Thematique Genre, which will be elaborated further in Chapter 4, to facilitate future collaboration on gender equality efforts in Haiti, giving women's movement actors and organization an institutional mechanism to be consulted on gender equality issues in Haitian political processes moving forward.

When asked about the successes of this policymaking process and the adoption of the PN-EFH, officials in interviews again emphasize the discursive aspects of the policy. This policy was the first time a holistic gender equality strategy was elaborated. As one official suggests, "Just having the policy document in the first place was a success, and if the policy comes to life, change will happen". Politically, the adoption of this policy was seen by current and former MCFDF officials interviewed as the successful result of a long-term collaboration to make gender equality a priority in Haiti. This policy was largely seen by key informants as a discursive

step towards further institutionalizing a national machinery for gender equality. However, as most key informants were quick to add when discussing the positive outcomes of this policy, there was much uncertainty moving forward given Martelly's departure from the national government, and the 2016 election of Jovenel Moïse.

Opportunities and Binding Constraints

Reflecting on the strengths and limitations of institutional relationships and actions throughout the policymaking process that led to the adoption of the PN-EFH in 2014 provides important insight into the opportunities and binding constraints for progress on gender equality in Haitian policymaking processes. As discussed in the literature review, Amy Mazur (2009) suggests a series of factors that contribute to the development of gender equality policies. My analysis will be presented from the inside out beginning with the issue of representation, utilizing Mazur's work to frame the presence of a feminist policy profile.

Representation

Amy Mazur (2002) establishes the importance of both the descriptive and substantive representation of women in gendered policymaking processes. In the context of the PN-EFH, the complexities of the relationships between actors at the national and international level and what they mean for the representation of women were discussed by key informants in their reflection of events that led to the adoption of this policy. Key informants suggested that there are three distinct types of actors that were represented nationally: the MCFDF ministry, the national ministries, and the President and Prime Minister's Office. In addition to these national actors, officials discussed the key role of women's organizations and activists and of the international community as part of this policymaking process.

Throughout the process of the crafting and elaboration of the PN-EFH, MCFDF officials discussed how the MCFDF was the only ministry representing and addressing women's issues at

a national level in Haiti, and described its role as “transversal”. For example, the ministry itself was the result of a long history of involvement and advocating on part of the women’s movement and key activists. On one hand, current and former MCFDF officials give credit to the women’s movement always being involved and the key outcomes of the ministry being the result of collaboration and assistance from the women’s movement. On the other hand, given that the MCFDF is a national ministry, it is guided by the principles and support of the President and the Prime Minister, and its work is dictated and impacted by wider governmental priorities and their uneven implementation.

Within the MCFDF, there were key individuals who played a critical role in ensuring that the transversal role of the MCFDF was upheld. As was suggested by a key MCFDF official during the elaboration of the PN-EFH, “who you were as a person and who you knew could directly impact policy outcomes”. For people in positions of power that had this personal clout, they often played the role of “interlocutrices” between officials as part of the consultation process for this policy. These insider activists played a key role to ensure that as an institution, the MCFDF was reflective of both the interests and claims of the national government and women’s organizations and activists. Substantively, this understanding of Haitian insider-activists is congruent with Tiessen et al.’s concept of insider-activists.

One former MCFDF official who played the *interlocutrice* role throughout this process spoke of the immense strain that this put on MCFDF officials to manage these relationships. Former officials spoke of the high-turnover rate of key MCFDF officials because of the personal strain and stress of these positions. Overtime, it was difficult to maintain institutional relationships between national officials and civil society because they were hard to reproduce when key MCFDF officials left their posts. These dynamics discussed by this key informant

highlight how the policymaking process that led to the adoption of the PN-EFH was dependent on key people in bureaucratic positions at the MCFDF that represented the interests and claims of the gender equality policy agenda, instead of gendered ideals and policy measures being integrated at an institutional level across government. This dynamic made it difficult for progress on this policy to be maintained when officials in government resigned, or when there was a change in government at the national level.

Indeed, the PN-EFH set a precedent for what gender equality should look like in the Haitian context, and how actors could influence the policy agenda through formal and informal channels. However, this assessment of policy successes rests mostly on discursive gains. The presence of key individuals in positions of power, coupled with the support of a strong women's movement, was enough to get the PN-EFH on the political agenda. Yet, when it came to the substantive representation (or implementation) of their claims, these actors faced substantial limitations. Evidence of this deficit becomes clear once the implementation of this policy is analyzed in the next chapter.

This picture of complex relations between actors at the national level is further complicated by the role of the international community in this policymaking process. Because of the history of internationally imposed development agendas in Haiti, a few key informants, especially from the women's movement, suggested that the international community needs to take a hands-off approach in policymaking processes like the PN-EFH because of the neo-colonial norms of intervention that they represent. While their point is well-taken, one of the contributions of my research is to go beyond binary post-colonial views of aid as neo-colonialism to explore more dialectical readings of how international actors have contributed to policymaking processes and the integration of gendered norms in Haiti. Given that there are wide

gaps in technical and financial resources that inhibit the ability for Haitian actors to progress completely on their own, international actors do play an important role in strengthening the capacity of Haitian national institutions to address gender equality in policymaking processes. In the period leading up to the adoption of the PN-EFH, some international actors responded to these needs.

Exploring the ways that international actors like Canada contributed to this policymaking process is one way to understand the nuances of international engagement in Haitian policymaking processes, and the positive contributions that are possible when these actors prioritize national capacity and Haitian political priorities over their own policy agendas. In analyzing Canada's role in the elaboration and adoption of this policy, it is clear that enhancing the technical and financial capacity of Haitian officials was prioritized, as illustrated by the way that Canadian officials emphasized coaching and consultation in their collaboration with Haitian officials to, rather than imposing their own agenda.

Political opportunity structure

As discussed by Amy Mazur, it is important to frame the key political opportunities that were established with the PN-EFH in terms of the political opportunity structure to understand how power dynamics and hierarchies influence these processes, taking into account both actors and institutions to understand whose perspectives are seemingly prioritized over others. In Haiti, as one key informant suggested, the political opportunity structure “is characterized by formal and informal processes”. Signs of both formal and informal processes are documented throughout this section, and in Chapter 4.

The political opportunity structure that allowed various actors to contribute to the elaboration and adoption of this policy is a direct result of key MCFDF officials who continuously advocated for gender equality, known as “femocrats”, and the advocacy of key

women's movement actors outside of the state bureaucracy. These actors seem to highlight factors that could produce favourable outcomes within the political opportunity structure. Despite binding constraints on this policy process stemming from the unequal representation of various actors throughout the policymaking process and the limitations stemming from Haiti's wider political, social, and economic circumstances, this policy progressed because of these key actors. The existence of a strong women's movement in Haiti, and the role of key activists and civil society throughout the development and work of the MCFDF show that despite constraints and weakened institutions, there are spaces where the institutional environment can lead to transformative changes. The extent to which these binding constraints can continuously be overcome by resilient women's movement actors and key femocrats, and the limitations that remain for the integration of gender in political processes and institutions in light of this activism will be expanded on in Chapter 4 and 5.

Scholars suggest that periods of transition have a direct impact on the political opportunity structure, and can impact the extent to which actors can influence a policymaking process. As Banaszak suggests, "Periods of change within an organization offer opportunities to rewrite the rules, alter the focus, or create new organizational forms that may benefit (or hinder) social movements" (Banaszak 2010: 17). Crucial moments that slowed development on the elaboration and implementation of the PN-EFH included the 2010 earthquake and the change from the Martelly and Moïse governments. Critics of the response to the 2010 earthquake argue that post-earthquake reconstruction failed to address the severely compromised livelihoods of women, leaving them worse off than before. Yet as we saw in the previous chapter, the MCFDF and the women's movement regained the initiative and with the support of international partners like the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), they obtained the PN-EFH and

PA-EFH just five years after the earthquake. The dialectical relations between the MCFDF and the Haitian women's movement, and between the MCFDF and Canada created opportunities for agency and policy change.

Women's movements, state actors, and the outcomes of their interactions

As Mazur suggests, unpacking the strength, resources and characteristics of the women's movement and state actors and institutions could help to understand the degree to which the women's movement has had influence throughout the institutional history of the MCFDF, and key actions that led to the adoption of the PN-EFH in 2014. Understanding how the women's movement has successfully influenced policy is important to understand potential spaces for transformative agency.

One of the key questions that came up while tracing the elaboration of this policy is why a conservative President like Michel Martelly would make a commitment to adopt such a policy. While this is a question that can only be answered by President Martelly himself, this research identifies how certain dynamics in the elaboration of this policy could help to inform this question. One key MCFDF official at the time further suggested that if the national government and key officials trusted you, it became easier to make changes, and you were given autonomy to push the policymaking agenda forward. An official's personal clout and the confidence she enjoyed with the national government had an impact on her ability to advance a specific policy agenda with the backing of the higher levels of government. One inference that could be made from these insights is that President Martelly trusted key MCFDF officials to make this policy become a reality, and gave them the autonomy to ensure the policy's adoption.

Another perspective through which to view the motive behind President Martelly signing this policy was that the President viewed himself as a feminist, and fully supported this policy, as was reflected by one international official interviewed who worked closely with Haitian officials

at MCFDF and the higher levels of government on this policy. Interestingly, the adoption of the PN-EFH was not the first time that President Martelly had made policy advancements to uphold a commitment to gender equality. For example, it was also under President Martelly that constitutional amendments were drawn up in 2011 to include a gender quota in his cabinet.

Despite this, multiple key informants provided examples of the way Martelly publically insulted women, including prominent female journalist Liliane Pierre Paul. There was a blatant disconnection between the way that he insulted women in public and the actions he supported at the policy level. As one key informant suggested, “Having 30% of your cabinet female doesn’t mean anything when you are violating women’s rights on a daily basis”. However, for President Martelly, it seems as though he saw no issue with the contradictions between his public insults to women and signing a gender equality policy at the national level.

The contradiction between Martelly’s policies and his public insults resulted in public discontent, especially by civil society and women’s activists. The ways that Martelly articulated his support for gender equality made women’s groups question his motives. In this case, it is important to understand the role that different perceptions of gender equality can play in expressing the viewpoints of different actors working in this policy space, and the tension around policy outcomes when there is a disconnect between actors’ definitions of gender equality.

While the question of whether President Martelly was considered a feminist can still be debated, actions following the adoption of the policy showed limited substantive support. While both Martelly and the Prime Minister highlighted their commitment to gender equality through letters in the policy document, there were few signals of support beyond this that would provide the MCFDF with the tools to push gender transformation at a systemic level. For example, as

expressed by a key informant, the MCFDF's budget remained less than 1% of the national budget, and the Executive branch had little involvement in the political process.

The degree of influence and the agency of women's organizations in the policymaking process leading to the adoption of the PN-EFH has both its strengths and limitations. On one hand, it is important to look at the successes that have resulted from the women's movement. In their interviews, MCFDF officials were unanimous in their acknowledgement of the key role that women's organizations and key Haitian activists have played in both policy and practical advance of gender equality in Haiti. Many noted that one of the successes of this policy is that women's organizations were now enshrined into the law as a part of the "Table Thematique Genre" (Gouvernement d'Haiti 2014 70) outlined in the PN-EFH document, reinforcing their status as legitimate actor in the policy process alongside state and international actors.

However, when asked about the ways that women's organizations and key Haitian activists are a part of the policymaking process and the actions they pursued, key informants working in the government indicated that the ways women's organizations and key activists influenced this process was mostly through informal channels; including through political activism and protests, consultations, and collaboration through working groups that met often throughout the policymaking process. Given that these means of influence were not often formalized or institutionalized, it was a choice instead of an obligation for MCFDF and other government entities to consult. Therefore, consultation was not as institutionalized as it should have been. At times where key government officials that were receptive to the claims of the women's movement were in office, they were likely to be consulted. When the lack of technical, financial, and human resources capacity left MCFDF fatigued, or key MCFDF officials did not

emphasize the need to consult with women's organizations, this relationship between MCFDF and key women's organizations and activists faltered.

Key women's organizations and activists I interviewed highlighted these tensions and limitations and were critical of the relationship between civil society and MCFDF. Beyond MCFDF, there was no discussion by key informants on the level of collaboration between women's organizations and key activists and the higher levels of government, suggesting that their only relationship to government was through the MCFDF. It was also noted by one key informant from civil society that sometimes MCFDF officials would come to women's organizations to help to fill the gaps that MCFDF did not have the capacity to manage, including the provision of services for women. Again, this was done mostly through informal channels.

Influences from beyond the national level

In the case of countries like Haiti, post-colonial critiques emphasize the predominant role of international institutions in shaping neo-colonial societies. Critics like Duffield and Côté highlight the limitations of these actions on national institutions. While these critiques are well-founded, the elaboration of the PN-EFH suggests that the bureaucratic policymaking was in part a result of the complicated relations between international institutions and national institutions, but was mainly a process driven by national institutions, more specifically by activists in the civil society wing of the women's movement and at the governmental level.

MCFDF officials I interviewed discussed how, over the course of the crafting and adoption of the PN-EFH, most of the work and political will for this policy was that of key activists in the MCFDF and of civil society advocacy. The national government may have signed the PN-EFH in 2014, but the Executive has done little throughout the process to make it become a reality, relying heavily on key officials in MCFDF to make it happen. One key MCFDF

informant who supported the adoption of this policy suggests that the Executive rarely interacted with the process, and only did so when MCFDF officials pushed it repeatedly to do so.

International institutions have played a larger role in influencing the national government at the levels of the president and prime minister, as was previously discussed in the lead up to the creation of the MCFDF in 1994. The national government's commitment to CEDAW in 1981 and to the Beijing Platform in 1995, among others, also became "bargaining chips" for the women's movement to continue to advocate for a national machinery to address gender equality at the state level. Despite international institutions playing a key role at the national level to ensure gender equality was on the policy agenda, key signals discussed in Chapter 4 suggest that there may be limits to these institutions' transformative impact on the policymaking process as a whole.

Defining a Feminist Policy Profile

In Mazur's definition of a feminist policy profile, she suggests that "feminist policy profiles may be a function of the style of the policy sub-system and or a series of exogenous determinants at the sectoral, sub-sectoral, national, regional, or extra-national levels. The model allows for the possibility that the style of the sub-system – its interactions, actors, belief systems, arenas, and instruments – may be an important intervening influence on the degree to which a policy profile is feminist" (Mazur 2002 41). Mazur's emphasis on the role that contextual factors play in the development of a specific policy profile became the basis to understand the role of different actors, and how this impacted the social construction of gendered norms over the course of the elaboration and adoption of the PN-EFH. Mazur's propositions are important because they underline the importance of the values and ideas that policy actors portray, and the impact this has on determining policy outcomes. Through an analysis of the elaboration and adoption of this policy, this research has begun to unpack how different actors, and the causes and claims they

represent, contribute to the complex relations that inform political processes and policy outcomes.

This chapter has begun to unpack the extent to which women and gender have been represented throughout the policymaking process. The interaction of various actors throughout this process provide insight into the complexity of these institutional dynamics and relationships, and how different actors made the adoption of this policy possible. The role of and key connections between these actors also illustrate how women have been descriptively and substantively represented in the political process thus far, as well as constraints that can impede such influence. This will continue to be expanded in discussing the implementation of this policy in Chapter 4. Moving forward, these insights from the elaboration and adoption of the PN-EFH also help us to understand potential spaces for creative and transformative agency that may exist in the Haitian context in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Moving Forward, Looking Back: Implementation & Prospects for Transformative Agency

Timeline for Implementation

Since the policy was officially adopted at the end of 2014 and publicly presented in early 2015, Haiti faced almost two years of political crisis before Jovenel Moïse was sworn in as President in February 2017. This chapter focuses on two main aspects of the PN-EFH implementation process since then. First, it examines the events and preliminary signals that have been presented by the national government and other key actors since the change of government in early 2017. Second, the impressions and reflections of key informants help to inform an understanding of the opportunities and binding constraints presented by this implementation process, including what needs to be done to address these barriers at multiple levels of society moving forward. The variety of key informants interviewed, including international, national, and women's actors, is an important contribution to this analysis. Given the fact that a collaborative approach has been flagged as an important aspect of the successful implementation of this policy, understanding the priorities of these various actors is the first step to building an institutional environment that moves beyond the silos that can limit the extent to which gender equality can be integrated and operationalized at a political and programmatic level in Haiti.

Key Events in the Moïse Administration

Since Jovenel Moïse became President in February 2017, preliminary political and economic signals provide insight into the role that gender equality may play in the administration. On March 8th, 2017, a “Diner Causerie” was held by the First Lady, Madame Martine Moïse, that included UN Women, women's organizations, former ministers, women's leaders from different departments and men who are oriented towards the cause of women on the margins of gender equality in Haiti. The 2017 theme of International Women's Day, “Women in

the Changing World of Work: Planet 50-50 by 2030”, was the theme of this dinner. The intended outcomes of this event were to establish a dialogue between the new Moïse administration and the women’s movement, and position the Moïse administration in relation to women’s rights and gender equality. This event served as a way to bring people together to highlight the gains made in terms of women’s rights and gender equality in Haiti, to discuss women’s ongoing challenges and build awareness about the connection to national laws, policies, and programs, including the PN-EFH. From the UN Women’s report, it seems as though this dinner was the result of the influence of UN Women as an international agency, with the First Lady’s role acting as the official host.

In the follow-up of this event, whether or not significant progress was made on the intended goals remains unclear. The fact that priorities were laid out and that a dinner took place with key officials on the topic of gender equality is encouraging. However, UN officials questioned about the outcomes of this dinner were not aware of any substantive action by the national government that came as a result. These preliminary insights highlight a wide gap between national level politics and intended goals for gender equality in Haiti coming from other agencies, which could present significant hurdles moving forward for the national prioritization of gender equality. Given that the alignment of priorities between the national government and international agencies happens over a longer time period, it will be important to conduct further research on how the dynamics between national and international gender equality priorities evolve in Haiti over the course of the current Moïse administration.

Other signals suggest tensions between the national government and bureaucratic levels of the MCFDF. In August 2017, the Prime Minister sent a letter to his cabinet about the need to collaborate on issues related to gender equality in Haiti, the transversal nature of this social issue,

and the need to support MCFDF in their pursuits. While this could have been seen as a positive step, the back story tells otherwise. A key MCFDF official who was privy to this process said that the only reason why this letter from the Prime Minister to the ministries existed was because of MCFDF advocating and being persistent in asking for this letter over a period of several months, reinforcing points made in the elaboration of this policy that progress on gender equality rested on a few key individuals. If MCFDF had not advocated for itself and its mission to the Prime Minister's Office, it would have not been prioritized. The amount of time it took to get the letter to the ministries in the first place, and the fact that by mid-2017 no substantive action by the Prime Minister on gender equality had followed this letter left MCFDF officials questioning whether or not gender equality was to be a priority in the new government.

In late August and early September 2017, two workshops were held by MCFDF to try to gain traction on the implementation of the PN-EFH the prioritization of gender equality in all of the ministries. One workshop was a meeting for key ministers whose ministries should be implicated in the implementation of this policy. According to a current MCFDF official I interviewed, these included the ministries of Finance, Planning, Communication, Health, Education, Social Affairs, and Youth and Sport. The other workshop was for employees at the working level in these ministries. The agencies were instructed by MCFDF to send two officials who could be gender equality focal points at these ministries.

A current high-level MCFDF official suggested that the first meeting with the ministries was difficult, as there was limited traction on gender equality issues. Not all of the ministers who were supposed to be there were present, and other ministries sent representatives instead of the respective minister. Because not all ministries were present, MCFDF was forced to spend time in the days after the meeting following up individually with those that were absent. Furthermore, at

the ministerial meeting, the Prime Minister was supposed to give a speech outlining the role of gender equality in society, but instead, the Prime Minister's Chef du Cabinet spoke on his behalf. As another MCFDF official observed, the Chef du Cabinet spoke straight from his notes and was not passionate about the cause. In addition, this official was of the opinion that the Chef du Cabinet "didn't convince anybody" that gender equality was a priority for the current government.

The outcomes of this ministerial meeting highlight the limitations encountered by MCFDF as a transversal ministry. When the MCFDF's effort and energy is spent getting ministers on board and looped into basic information on gender equality priorities, the emphasis on policy building and follow-through mechanisms is limited. When the national government, at the ministerial level and at the President and Prime Minister's office, limit the extent to which they are involved in MCFDF's work, it presents challenges that can slow the amount of progress MCFDF can make.

Nonetheless, the workshop with individuals at the working level was considered a relative success by one key MCFDF official that attended it. Unlike the inter-ministerial level, this meeting had a more productive tone and these officials were receptive to MCFDF's priorities. The main emphasis of the second meeting was to begin the process of moving gender integration from the policy to the programmatic level. MCFDF's work and current trajectory was well-received by these ministerial officials, and progress was made in terms of establishing lines of communication for future work and collaboration. Unlike the narratives of post-colonial scholars like Côté and Duffield, a feminist institutional frame thus enables us to detect the subtlety of such creative bureaucratic agency and explore future opportunities for collaboration on gender equality within the Haitian government and beyond. Such opportunities that were

uncovered as part of this research are elaborated as part of this chapter, and in Chapter 5 where prospects for transformative agency moving forward are discussed.

Current MCFDF Priorities

During an interview, a high-level MCFDF official spoke about the current priority in MCFDF being to institutionalize networks at the inter-ministerial level, with three specific intended policy outcomes in mind: putting gender units in key ministries, creating an inter-ministerial committee on gender equality, and a secretariat to coordinate inter-ministerial actions on gender equality. These same actions were listed under “governance measures” in the PA-EFH. In addition, the workshops held in August and September sought to make progress on these plans. Reflections of officials from these workshops highlight some of the hurdles that MCFDF faces in operationalizing work at this level. For instance, both current MCFDF officials and the PA-EFH suggest that inter-ministerial work is a current priority, but it is clear that they also encounter binding constraints to advance work at this level. For example, in regards to financing, the PA-EFH acknowledges that additional resources will need to be mobilized to implement the PN-EFH. But as one key informant suggests, the PA-EFH falls short of explaining the exact place where these resources will be mobilized, leaving ambiguity as to where this responsibility falls. Capacity building that emphasizes the follow-through mechanisms at this level could be an important space for future work and collaboration, so that MCFDF can continue to build momentum on the implementation of the PN-EFH, and work to address the political and financial gaps that hinder its progress.

In key informant interviews, many current and former MCFDF officials noted that the expectation that the MCFDF was the sole focal point for gender in the government, despite the transversal nature of the policy, is another binding constraint that has limited the extent to which gender can be holistically integrated across government institutions. Even before the PN-EFH

was elaborated, key informants noted that the national government and ministries saw women's issues only as an MCFDF priority, and delegated as such even when women's issues would fall under the purview of other departments. These notions fall far from the benchmarks set by feminist institutionalists who say that in order for institutions to be considered gendered, they must systematically represent those gendered ideals. The implementation of the PN-EFH requires a whole-of-government approach that is not achieved by a single gender focal point with limited technical and financial resources. MCFDF's current priorities, including putting focal points into all government ministries, is a step in the right direction towards systematically reflecting gendered norms throughout government. However, the slow integration, limited resources, and lack of buy-in from the ministries themselves could be barriers to the realization of these aims.

Role of National Government

Currently, most of the work done nationally on gender equality falls to MCFDF, and the roles of other entities, especially the Executive and other government departments, are not directly defined. Given the multitude of actors who are implicated in this policymaking process, the right forums need to be developed to be able to discuss how implementation must occur, and how gendered analyses need to be integrated in all policies and programming at the national level. The elaboration of MCFDF's priorities at the inter-ministerial level are the first step to creating networks to address these concerns, but further work must be done to establish the follow-through mechanisms that will define this work moving forward.

The critiques about the PA-EFH being "light" stem from the fact that some suggest that there are substantial gaps between the steps to implementation outlined in the Action Plan and the resources needed to operationalize formative changes at the level of society. Both the PN-EFH and PA-EFH are key documents that could be the basis of change and provide guidance to

actors about what key steps must be taken to address gender inequality in the Haitian context. One way of thinking about the PA-EFH that was suggested by a key informant was how it could be broken up into separate key actions for different actors to each tackle. This could address some of the technical and financial issues with the implementation of this policy. However, given the current ambiguity of different actors' roles in the PN-EFH's implementation, significant questions remain.

In these efforts to facilitate a collaborative approach to gender equality, it is also important, according to the MCFDF officials interviewed, that the national leadership, particularly of the President and the Prime Minister, be visible. They pointed out that at the higher levels, up until this point collaboration with the Prime Minister and President's office has been mainly with their respective Chef du Cabinet. The response to the Prime Minister's Chef du Cabinet's speech at the recent workshop, which we mentioned previously, highlights some of the negative implications of this perceived lack of support from the President and Prime Minister themselves on the topic of gender equality. Given that gender equality is a deeply political and social issue, the support of these leaders is crucial.

One of the biggest challenges regarding the use of the PN-EFH and PA-EFH as blueprints to guide the implementation of this policy is the fact that there has been limited distribution of the policy and action plan in first place. This is further hindered by the fact that neither document defines whose responsibility it is to ensure its dissemination. Having these policies as guidance tools takes for granted the institutional environment and mechanisms that are necessary to distribute and bring awareness to the policy in the first place. For example, a key informant who is a part of the women's movement says that she and many other people she knows working on these issues had yet to see an actual copy of the document. Under these

circumstances, the nature of gender inequality is in the Haitian context and the role of key mechanisms to address these issues moving forward at the government, civil society, and societal level are often misunderstood. In their interviews, key current MCFDF officials also reinforced how the distribution the PN-EFH and PA-EFH is an issue, and they signalled that this would be an MCFDF priority for the current government. Since then, there have been no public signals that a dissemination campaign is currently underway.

Role of International Community

It becomes hard to decipher what the role of the international community will be throughout the implementation of this policy. While historic partners like UN Women and Canada remain engaged, few other international actors have worked specifically on gender equality in Haiti. As was mentioned in the PN-EFH, the Spanish Cooperation Agency was involved in the elaboration of the PN-EFH but is not currently working specifically on gender equality. Given the limited desire by international actors to champion gender equality in Haiti, perhaps the next step would be emphasizing the role of gender equality through different policies, programs, and mechanisms in the overall Haitian development program. As will be discussed later in this chapter, a February 2018 announcement by Minister Bibeau highlights potential progress in this regard.

A high-level Canadian government official previously stationed in Haiti suggests that there has been limited work on gender equality per se by international actors. Mechanisms have been created to facilitate communication on the intersections between Haiti's overall development program and gender equality, including an Ambassadorial working group. In this political space, this official said that more often than not, gender equality is discussed as it relates to other development priorities rather than as a stand-alone priority. Addressing gender from this "mainstreaming" approach presents significant hurdles. As was discussed by this same official,

one of the more recent challenges facing the implementation of this type of approach is how to embed gender markers across Haiti's development programming, when different international actors have different perspectives on the integration of gender in their programming, and do not align with national priorities. This highlights some of the potential constraints associated with working collaboratively at the international level on gender equality in a specific country context, and echoes Parpart's (2014) arguments elaborated in the literature review about the limitations of gender mainstreaming approaches.

In June 2017, a working group led by UN Women and the Canadian Embassy in Haiti was created, bringing together key international technical and financial partners who are working on gender equality in Haiti. Given that this group is still in its infancy, they are currently working on setting their procedures and working on mapping the key programs across the partners working on gender equality. This is an important first step to creating a collaborative strategy for gender equality at an international level, suggesting a desire to move beyond the silos that the international community is criticized for operating in when it comes to programming. However, there is one key piece missing: the partners who sit in this working group are only international partners, and this group is not currently directly involved with the national-level processes and the MCFDF. This lack of collaboration and coordination could be considered a step back from the mutual accountability for aid effectiveness outlined in the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness supplemented by the 2008 Accra Agenda for Action. The formation of this group is an example of a larger systemic problem in Haiti, that is, the difficulty of implementing a collaborative and representative approach to gender equality that synergizes national and international efforts when there are binding constraints on national capacity, as we will show in the next section.

Throughout key informant interviews, officials at the international level, in the MCFDF and in women's organization mentioned other such international platforms that have emerged since the MCFDF was created in 1994, and how they were meant to foster a collaborative approach to gender equality in Haiti. While the creation of the present international technical and financial partnership contributes to a cohesive, collaborative response to gender equality at the level of international donors, it does not solve a larger issue at hand. Moving forward, one of the major questions to address is why these working groups would be constructed, given that there are already provisions for nationally-led coordination mechanisms in place. Key informants interviewed elaborated on some of the limitations that fuel this siloed approach to gender equality at the national and international level, including the disconnect between national and international priorities on gender equality in Haiti, and the difficulty in bringing actors together across sectors when their goals do not align. The PN-EFH document itself mentions a Table Thematique Genre (TTG) that outlines the different key actors working on gender equality at multiple levels of Haitian society. As one key informant reinforced, "If the TTG worked better, there would be no need for other groups". Overall, the disconnect between the TTG and international mechanisms is deeply problematic.

Hurdles and Binding Constraints to Implementation

In key informant interviews, individuals were asked specifically about the current hurdles facing the implementation of the PN-EFH, and what needs to be done to address these barriers. They underscored specific binding constraints that are impacting the implementation of this policy. Constraints articulated by key informants emphasized three main areas: technical, financial, and human resources capacity; institutional hurdles in the state; and the social and cultural perceptions of gender that are impacting this process ideologically.

Budget/Financing and Human Resource Constraints

One of the most apparent issues facing the implementation of this policy that was mentioned by almost every official as being a barrier to implementation was budgetary and financial constraints. Given the transversal nature of MCFDF and its broad mandate, there is a lack of resources for MCFDF to be able to invest in the implementation of this policy. When MCFDF adopted this policy in 2014, one key informant mentioned that the national government had promised that there would be a significant shift from less than 1% of the national budget going to MCFDF to about 5%. However, given that this policy was adopted around the end of Martelly's presidency, this promise never came to fruition. In the most recent budget from fall 2017, the MCFDF still received around 1% of the national budget. Financing at the national level has also been difficult due to the fact that gender is not integrated across national ministries and institutions, and remains almost the sole responsibility of MCFDF. With limited engagement by the Executive and other national ministries, a sense of fatigue has grown within the MCFDF.

Currently at the national level, it is my impression that the Moïse government is making amendments to National Development Plan that was created under President Martelly. How gender equality is elaborated as part of these amendments could be a key political signal regarding whether the MCFDF and the PN-EFH will be a government priority in the years to come. As suggested by key officials in this research, there has been limited traction for these at the national level thus far, but information on government priorities is still in flux. In fall 2017, President Moïse also released a national budget, which was viewed as an austerity budget by most ministries. Overall, 196,203,101 gourdes were allocated for the MCFDF, that is, 1% of the national budget as a whole. Given that when the PN-EFH was signed, the ministry was looking for an increase to 5% of the national budget to expand and augment its work. This low budget figure is a key signal that at least financially, the MCFDF is not for now a priority for the Moïse

administration. Regarding the MCFDF as a government department, current officials suggest that its work will need to focus mostly on political advocacy and building awareness for gender equality as a priority to ensure that the latter remains on the agenda, limiting the extent to which it can readily move forward with the implementation of the PN-EFH.

The lack of financial resources has also limited the ability for MCFDF to expand its work to the *départements*, or provinces of Haiti. Given the immediate political concerns, the MCFDF is unable to focus on service provision. With limited resources, multiple current and former MCFDF officials suggested that the MCFDF often takes on more of a managerial role than as a service provider. When the MCFDF does not have the capacity to do the work themselves, the burden often falls to others to fill these gaps, including women's organizations outside the government.

Key women's organizations have a strong institutional foundation in Haiti, and on an organizational level, they have built an awareness of where the issues lie. In fact, their influence in articulating these challenges was key to getting this policy on the agenda and outlining its priorities. However, representatives from these women's organizations discussed how they have limited capacity to carry out their work, because of inadequate funding nationally for service provision. For example, one women's activist suggests that resource capacity is limited for services related to women's health and sexual violence. In the initial implementation of the PN-EFH, it has become clear that women's organizations will need to play a major role in gender equality efforts moving forward in Haiti.

At the international level, one of the key issues is the lack of funding that is put specifically towards gender equality in Haiti by donors. Canada's key role in the elaboration of this policy has been noted in this research, and Haiti remains one of the top 10 recipients of

Canadian international assistance and one of Haiti's top five bilateral partners. Despite these significant financial commitments, the limited mobilization of these funds for specifically gender equality efforts continues to be a barrier. For example, one issue that was discussed by an international official stationed in Haiti is the fact that the funding for one gender equality project could easily take up an entire donor's budget. This statement is important for two reasons. First of all, the implementation of this policy requires moving beyond the project level to look at the implementation of the policy in a systematic manner that addresses the limitations placed by the institutional dynamics and weak national capacity in terms of progressing gender equality in Haiti's development portfolio.

The binding constraints of limited financial resources previously mentioned, coupled with the limitations faced by international agencies pursuing gender equitable outcomes in Haiti highlight how the development of a collaborative platform that formalizes channels of communication between the international community, national institutions, and civil society is imperative to the implementation of this policy. A collaborative platform could help to ensure that the limited resources are used as efficiently as possible, and to create spaces that foster growth on gender equality beyond financial means, through knowledge sharing and technical expertise. But as previously discussed in regards to the international working group being led by Canada and UN Women, at the core these groups must also work alongside national Haitian partners, mainly the MCFDF, to ensure that priorities are synergized. It is imperative that international actors understand what the Haitian perspective is on the implementation of the PN-EFH, and more broadly gender equality as a whole.

With its recent Feminist International Assistance Policy, Canada has made a commitment to increase the percentage of Official Development Assistance (ODA) going to projects and

programs with gender equality as a priority. This could be an opportunity in the future to increase funding specifically for gender equality, with an emphasis on funding national institutions and organizations that are working towards more gender-equitable policies and programs. When Minister Bibeau went to Haiti in February 2018, she announced that Canada would fund ‘local’ women’s organisations through one of Global Affairs Canada’s (GAC) new GE-focused funding mechanisms. Specifically, 5 projects were announced for Haiti’s agricultural sector that focused on economic opportunities for women and youth. Three more were announced for Haiti’s health sector to support Haitian authorities’ capacity to recruit and train midwives, and improve access to sexual and reproductive health services for Haitian women (Global Affairs Canada, February 21st, 2018). At this time, it is unclear whether these projects will link up to strategic support for GE mainstreaming by MCFDF and other ministries, and whether strategic linkages may or may not be emerging between different lines of Canadian programming in Haiti.

Institutional Hurdles

As demonstrated in chapter 3, one of the key limitations of the institutional processes that led to the adoption of this policy is that these processes were heavily dependent on the agency of a few key officials. Spehar’s work on women’s movement in Croatia and Slovenia shows that “the engagement of only a few women can be very significant for the formation of gender equality policies and can contribute to the success of the women's movement as a whole” (Spehar 2007: 232). While this may be the case in the short-term, the Haitian experience highlights how individual agency can be undermined over the long-term due to weak institutional support and to broader political, social and economic constraints.

Since 2014, there have been major institutional hurdles at multiple levels beyond MCFDF that have contributed to a weak institutional environment for gender equality. In terms

of the long-term sustainability of the PN-EFH and its implementation, this imposes constraints. For instance, it is difficult to move beyond the discursive level to substantive action without institutional backing from officials in all levels of government, given the transversal nature of gender equality issues. In terms of the PN-EFH's implementation, sustainable change comes from having the institutions there to reinforce these ideals over time, and the commitment of multiple levels of government. Until the weak institutional capacity to implement such reforms is addressed, the uneven integration of gender into national institutions will continue to present a significant hurdle for the operationalization of the PN-EFH.

Institutionalizing gender equality norms throughout national institutions is important to ensure the sustainability of implementation efforts, and systematically address the root causes of gender inequality that begin at an institutional level. As previously articulated, the PN-EFH's elaboration was heavily reliant on key individuals. Since the adoption of this policy, one former MCFDF official underscored that a lot of these individuals have resigned from their positions because of the strain associated with conducting this work. The high amount of turnover, both in terms of key officials within the MCFDF and governmental ruling parties and, puts constraints on the implementation of the PN-EFH. Speaking about the current implementation phase, this same key informant articulated that "now we have (the same) problem because we don't have the same actors, people who were interested during the period of elaboration, they are not the same for the implementation, and we also lost some key personalities during the earthquake, and now we need to work with new actors who need time to learn and to be motivated, and all those things delay the process of the implementation". The most durable way to address these changes in personnel is to ensure that gendered norms are ingrained into national institutions in a systematic manner that continue to operate no matter who may be in key positions of power.

For the elaboration of this policy, the MCFDF's capacity and who held key positions in the ministry impacted how women's organizations were involved in the policymaking process. The degree to which women's organizations were consulted relied directly on the orientation and connections that high-level MCFDF officials, including the MCFDF minister, had and whether or not collaboration was prioritized by these key individuals. This reliance on key individuals could help to explain the uneven integration of both collaborative responses to gender equality, but also the reasons why some women's organizations expressed discontent with how they were integrated in the policymaking process and prospects for their future role in the implementation of the PN-EFH.

In two key informant interviews, one with a representative from the Bureau for the Integration of Handicapped Persons (BSEIPH), and the other with a disabled women's organization, handicapped women were discussed as being "double victims". Critical feminists would understand this type of intersectionality in terms of interlocking systems of power and oppression. As Olena Hankivsky (2014) explains, "Intersectionality is concerned with understanding the effects between and across various levels in society... attending to this *multi-level* dimension of intersectionality also requires addressing processes of inequity and differentiation across levels of structure, identity and representation." (ibid. 9). For the implementation of the PN-EFH, it is important to understand intersectionality as it pertains to an actor's capacity, such as that of the disabled women's movement who claims to be left out of the PN-EFH, to build ramps towards greater inclusion in political and institutional spheres for these marginalized groups.

Key women's actors, specifically femocrats within the MCFDF bureaucracy and key women's activists and organizations outside the state exemplify the transformative potential of

mobilized agency, despite binding constraints of their political, social, and economic environment. However, the extent to which these actors have been integrated in the PN-EFH policymaking process and their inability to consistently engage with government to address their needs highlights, significant challenges remain moving forward. Whether or not they have the financial or political capital, these types of actors will continue working towards concrete actions to ensure women's integration in society. Finding ways to institutionalize support for their efforts through targeted funding and technical resources could be an important part of implementation agenda for the PN-EFH moving forward.

Current MCFDF officials suggest that they have a good working relationship with women's organizations, and the PN-EFH successfully institutionalized their relationship because these organizations were presented as a separate pillar for engagement in the policy document. While women's organizations concur on this statement, they also suggest that there is room for improvement. Despite the assertions of current MCFDF officials in their interviews that women's actors and organizations continue to be a cornerstone of the MCFDF's work, the fact that the MCFDF faces significant political and financial constraints carrying out its work could further undermine the ability for these relationships to flourish. If institutions are not conducive to the integration of women's organizations in their work, political advocacy and personal relationships can only go so far. This research only captured the voices of a few key women's organizations who highlighted the difficulties they faced getting access to adequate government resources, and captivating the attention of actors within the state. Most of the voices of feminists that were captured were by women's movement actors who successfully influenced the policymaking process through ties to both the women's movement and the MCFDF bureaucracy.

As such, further research could expand on the specific hurdles faced by organizations and women's actors who do not have ties to the MCFDF bureaucracy or the national government.

Key gaps were identified during the adoption of the PN-EFH that highlighted the limited technical expertise and financial resources of Haitian officials to ensure its adoption. Projects like PATH and PARGEP, previously outlined in Chapter 3, were beneficial for the MCFDF because they began to address the technical, financial, and human resource capacity that many officials recognized as being the main deficit of MCFDF, and sought to transfer knowledge, skills and tools within the framework of the reforms undertaken by the Haitian government. Throughout this policymaking process, it became clear that Canadian officials encouraged national ownership in this process and focused on validating the claims and demands of national actors to determine the vision for this policy, specifically through projects like PATH and PARGEP. Another example of this was the Kore Famn Fund, a project suspended by the Harper Government in 2011, which was an example of international partners supporting flexible funding for the under-resourced Haitian women's movement in a way that gives these organizations autonomy. This seems closer to the model of cooperation envisaged by the Paris Declaration and other aid effectiveness norms that was absent from the response to the 2010 earthquake, where most aid, including Canada's, was funnelled through international organizations donor programs rather than through Haitian institutions. Because of this, the extent to which the model of cooperation, as well as projects like PATH and PARGEP supported by the Canadian government will be a cornerstone of Canada's future work on gender equality in Haiti, remains unclear.

In PARGEP's final report published in 2016, key issues are illuminated that could continue to jeopardize nationally-driven gender equality efforts in Haiti. Some of these stemmed from reflections about the policy environment that their work was conducted in. One of these

limitations was how changes among high-level functionaries within the Haitian public administration (including General Secretariat of the Office of the Prime Minister) made it difficult for them to carry out their work. Furthermore, the presence of multiple donors operating their field of intervention made it different for them to coordinate efforts with other actors.

This report also shows how these limitations could impact efforts moving forward. For example, PARGEP's report highlights how higher administrative organizational plans were implemented at the level of the General Secretariats of the Prime Minister and the Presidency, but the proposals of those plans advocating for government coordination were not retained following the project. In addition, they suggest that upon the conclusion of this project, the MCFDF is not yet demonstrating the capacity, resources, and leadership required to implement the PA-EFH. Major gaps were also observed in terms of how the PN-EFH translates to gender equity at the societal level. The report suggests that the main focus has been on improving MCFDF's capacity to perform gender-based analysis, rather than ensuring the equal participation of women in decision-making or reducing gender-based inequality in access to resources and advantages. According to the report, the main factors that have negatively impacted the effectiveness of the project include incongruity between project duration and scope of changes, the unstable and volatile political context, and limited number of competent and trained staff in directorates supporting this effort were very similar to the challenges described by key informants in interviews in October 2017. This suggests that there has been limited progress on national efforts towards gender equality measures since the conclusion of this project. These key challenges are important areas where future support for the implementation of the PN-EFH will be, and echo the challenges of gender mainstreaming approaches discussed by Parpart (2014) in the literature review.

Societal and Cultural Roots of Gender Inequality

Another binding constraint of the implementation process stems from how Haitian stakeholders have vastly different views on the gender equality agenda. The implementation of the PN-EFH is jeopardized by these opposing viewpoints. When the policy was adopted, the motivations of the actors for making it happen were very different, given the socially derived nature of gender equality. The women's movement and the MCFDF, were pushing for this policy to create a blueprint for the way women's actions need to be integrated into public life and to operationalize the way this needed to get done. For the national government, my impression from key informants were that Martelly felt strongly about gender equality and was willing to sign the policy into law, but may not have had a clear picture of the political, social, and economic factors that needed to be reinforced at the highest levels of government to make it a reality. Furthermore, his public insults against women were highly criticized by women's actors. These vastly different claims and interests asserted by key actors created wide gaps in the interpretation of the PN-EFH.

Key informants highlight the fact that gender equality is still a core issue in Haitian society, both in terms of women's role in society, and how gender equitable ideals are reflected in national-level policies. Many suggested that women still face widespread discrimination and are disproportionately impacted by sexual violence. This was further reinforced by Baranyi and Sainsine in their report on the Haitian National Police, which indicated that the proportion of female police officers in rural areas and the lack of childcare facilities are "widely cited as obstacles to effective gender-based violence (GBV) prevention and victim support in these remote areas" (Baranyi and Sainsine 2016 16), highlighting the limited political and financial support for the services needed to protect the livelihoods of women in their everyday lives. Politically, when there has been change in national leadership, key informants spoke in general

terms about previous government administrations that MCFDF officials have often had to defend their reasoning for having a women's ministry in the first place, because the Executive Branch has questioned whether or not it should be a ministry of the family instead. This suggests how women are characterized more by their role as mothers and wives, than as individuals with their own autonomy. In terms of electoral processes, as reported in an *Alterpresse* article in January 2017, following the 2016 elections that brought Jovenel Moïse to power, again "female representation is low, prompting women's groups and the State University of Haiti to organize an inquiry to address the obstacles women faced, before, during, and after the election campaign (*Alterpresse*, January 23, 2017). Until the root causes of gender inequality are systematically addressed, policies alone cannot address the marginalization faced by many women in Haitian society. The patriarchal roots of gender inequality are discussed as part of the background information on Haiti Chapter 1.

Specific anecdotal evidence in key informant interviews was given on the traditional social and cultural roles of women in Haitian society, and their connection to the root causes of gender inequality. When key informants were asked about the influences social and cultural perceptions of women in Haiti, they pointed to patriarchal notions, based on religion, of the role that women play in society, and how deeply ingrained patriarchal norms are Haitian political and public life. One key informant suggested that women today in Haiti are not regarded in their own right and still rely heavily on men to conduct everyday activities, including running their own shops or in terms of land rights. In relation to their physical and emotional well-being, one key informant highlighted how women often do not report domestic violence because they feel that they do not have the agency or voice to do so and because violence against women is not discussed. In social terms, an official who recruits women for the public service suggests women

are often not hired for jobs because they do not have the competency in certain tasks. Even if positions are made available specifically for women, if they do not have the education, they will not be qualified enough to get these positions. In terms of political grounds and the role of women's voices in electoral processes, key informants discuss how many women do not want to speak publically and are hesitant to be political candidates in first place. Overall, this evidence suggests that there is a lack of women's empowerment in political and public life.

The PN-EFH and PA-EFH are important mechanisms to challenge these limiting conceptions of the role of women in society, and the PN-EFH explicitly recognizes such social constraints with provisions to challenge them overtime. However, real-life examples highlight how the root causes of gender inequality stem from social and cultural norms in Haitian society which are more difficult to identify and address. The lack of progress made at the national level on prioritizing gender equality could be seen as a sign that these social and cultural perceptions of gender are still informing the way gender is articulated in the national government beyond the MCFDF. The adoption of this policy showed how women's actors and key activists can be transformative in getting these concerns on the political agenda to challenge normative conceptions of gender equality. However, the ways through which women's organizations and activists can mobilize transformative agency to shift social and cultural perceptions of gender equality is less clear.

This brings us back to the centrality of broad awareness raising. As one key informant mentioned, very few people have actually seen the policy document itself, even members of key women's organizations who would be seen as directly involved in the adoption and implementation of this policy. In the upper levels of government, this is also the case. Another official noted at the national parliamentary level, there is a lack of awareness this policy and the

parameters of the way that the law should be enforced. Given this disconnection at the governmental level, one key informant mentioned that the extent to which people at the societal level know and have public information on this policy is very limited.

At a political level, this lack of awareness regarding the policy is deeply problematic in terms of the implementation of this policy, and the development of key follow-through mechanisms necessary for implementation, including the appointment of gender focal points in key ministries and at the parliamentary level. At a societal level, the lack of public knowledge regarding the policy limits the extent to which the policy itself can be used as a transformative mechanism to spark change and shift norms in the direction of gender equality. One example is the way this lack of awareness has directly impacted MCFDF's work is in the departments of Haiti. Given resource limitations, efforts have mostly been centralized at the governmental level in Port-au-Prince, contributing to a lack of information on the nature of gender inequality in rural communities. As such, one of the key gaps that could be addressed moving forward is increasing the presence of the MCFDF and women's organizations in the Haitian departments.

Local governments and civil society organisations could play a large role in raising awareness about this policy and ingraining gender-equity ideals in Haitian society and institutions; as such, they could be incorporated more strategically moving forward. One key informant mentioned that women are often hesitant to take part in electoral processes in Haiti for various reasons, including that they feel it is not accessible to them, they do not have the knowledge of these processes, or they feel as though they do not have the agency to contribute. Shifting this mentality requires education on electoral processes, and creating policy spaces that overcome the political, social, and economic barriers that limit the extent to which women can take an active role in these processes. In part, local governments can play a key role to ensure

that these spaces for women and marginalized groups are created. However, that alone is not enough. As Dumont suggests, “By itself, the electoral system is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition to guarantee women’s representation. Nevertheless, the electoral system functions as a facilitating mechanism, which expedites implementation measures within parties – affirmative action, for example – for female candidates” (Norris 2000 350, quoted in Dumont 2017 72-73). The other part of this paradigm is reinforcing affirmative actions that give women autonomy in political and public life, including around important issues like shop ownership and land rights.

The PN-EFH under Moïse

This chapter reflects on key steps that have taken place thus far as the PN-EFH has moved into its implementation phase since 2014. Documenting Moïse’s initial actions provide insight into the viability of this policy under a new administration, and the challenges associated with navigating this shift in political and institutional dynamics. Despite clear binding institutional constraints on the implementation of this policy, there are still key opportunities for change that provide a starting point to discuss the transformative potential of agency in this context.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Prospects for Transformative Agency

Theoretical Foundations

As authors like Duffield (2001) and Côté (2014) have previously suggested, social exclusion, the breakdown of order in fragile states, and humanitarian intervention have made it difficult to increase the capacity and autonomy of state institutions in fragile states like Haiti. A feminist post-colonial perspective was an important starting point for this research because it helped to understand the roots of western domination and patriarchy that have characterized Haitian developmental and political processes. Process tracing provided this research with the analytical flexibility to explore both the formal and informal processes that contributed to this policymaking process, moving away from the deterministic variants of post-colonial theory to align with institutional theory that addresses the wide range of factors that contributes to this policymaking process, specifically the societal forces that authors like Parpart (2014) suggest are important but often overlooked in these processes, and the perspectives of Richmond (2007) and Donais (2012) who highlight the necessity of engaging with local realities in development processes. Through anecdotal and academic references, this research has reinforced the fact that women in Haitian society still face significant challenges to become equal citizens in political and public life. However, the examination of the institutional dynamics over the course of the elaboration and adoption of the PN-EFH and PA-EFH enabled us to move beyond these critiques to identify actors and institutional mechanisms that have set the stage for progress on gender equality at the national level in Haiti.

The PN-EFH and PA-EFH served as a platform to discuss both the binding constraints and realities that women face in society in light of post-colonial perspectives that include western domination and patriarchal continuity, while also setting the stage to challenge limiting conceptions of the role of women in society. Guided by key tenets of feminist institutional theory

that aim at understanding the institutional dynamics of policymaking processes and their gendered dimensions, this research showed how certain actors have been able to resist and challenge the limiting conceptions of women's societal role to advocate for gender equitable measures in political and public life.

Key Findings

Since the institutionalization of the MCFDF in 1994, there have been formal and informal mechanisms that have enabled gender equality to be institutionalized in political and public life. This research has shown how a favourable opportunity structure and an active base of key activists and women's organizations have been crucial to getting gender equality on the policy agenda in the Haitian context, directly influencing the formative work of the MCFDF and leading to the adoption of the PN-EFH. Within the national government, interlocutrices were identified who worked both inside and outside of government to advocate for change and engage with both key activists and women's organizations. In addition, inter-ministerial workshops in Fall 2017 highlighted how traction on gender equality is most prevalent at the bureaucratic level in ministries. The presence of insider activists in government institutions and a strong women's movement seem to highlight factors that could produce favourable outcomes within the political opportunity structure, despite the binding constraints of Haiti's institutional challenges. Perhaps the greatest lesson learned through this research is the resiliency of women's movement actors to continue onwards in the absence of fully supportive institutions, as witnessed by the adoption of the PN-EFH. Moving forward, there is still uncertainty about whether gender equality will be a priority in the Moïse administration, but this research has reinforced the fact that women's activists, organizations, and feminist actors inside and outside government will continue to advocate for gender equality at a national level no matter what these national priorities may be.

In addition, this research has illuminated potential possibilities and binding constraints for hybrid national and international agency to forge an escape out of neo-colonial and patriarchal predicaments in the Haitian context. Within the policymaking process for the PN-EFH, these opportunities seem to lie mostly with key individuals, organization, and coalitions within the MCFDF, and partnerships between key women's activists and organizations. However, binding constraints, including a weak institutional environment, Haiti's vulnerability to political, social, and economic shocks, and social and cultural perceptions of gender in Haitian society continue to impede these efforts. For the implementation of the PN-EFH to be achieved, the MCFDF needs to be in a position to continue to strengthen its institutional relationships with civil society, at an inter-ministerial level, and with the national government, with other national entities, social movement actors and the international community bolstering these efforts through nationally-focused mechanisms. In order to be transformational, gender equality needs to be ingrained into national institutions in a systematic manner, rather than as the responsibility of a few key individuals and coalitions. Moving forward, the PN-EFH and PA-EFH provide women's organizations and activists with a blueprint and an "*arme de combat*" to continue to advocate and build support for these changes at the national level.

Fostering broad national ownership of gender equality efforts requires giving autonomy to Haitian national government officials and civil society actors to carry out their work. Baranyi and Binette (2017) make similar arguments articulating the need for women's organizations to be able to act autonomously. Typically, international responses in countries like Haiti are critical of giving funds directly to government agencies and organizations because of the perception of the high levels of corruption, and the fact that with weak institutions, it is unclear as to whether or not actors will see their funds utilized to their full potential. Despite a weak institutional

environment, a limited response from the national government, and inadequate financial and technical resources, the mobilized agency of women's movement actors and key MCFDF officials set the stage for the adoption of the PN-EFH. With additional resources and a certain level of autonomy, the transformative potential of these actors could be unlocked further. Current OECD (2013) policy guidance concurs on this point, and suggests that strengthening the state and civil society organizations, as well as their ability to collaborate, should be a priority in fragile states. Specifically for women's organizations, this advice mentions that donors must create space for these organizations to "lobby for their agendas as they see fit" (OECD 2013 28). Moving forward, an emphasis on technical expertise is also important to create sustainable partnerships that work to empower Haitian officials with the right tools to facilitate the PN-EFH's implementation. One productive way that international actors can support this national effort is to collaborate with Haitian officials to mobilize the resources and agency necessary to reactivate the Table Thématique Genre. This type of collaborative mechanism, outlined in the PN-EFH document, is an important tool to support and enhance nationally-driven gender equality efforts moving forward that is inclusive of state, civil society, and international actors.

Historically, an example of Canadian support for gender equality efforts in Haiti was through the Kore Famn Fund, a fund that supported activities in women's rights and participation in political life, reproductive health, economic development, and advocacy. However, this fund was suspended under the Harper Government in 2011. One current Canadian official pointed out that this type of funding is important moving forward in Haiti, and suggested that some Haitian partners even say that "we need another Kore Famn Fund". The blueprint of the Kore Famn Fund, international partners supporting flexible funding for the under-resourced Haitian women's movement in a way that gives these organizations autonomy, is an important step

moving forward. In discussion with officials from key women's organizations, this is a point that was reinforced.

Moving forward, it is also important to watch for key signals that would provide clarity on whether projects like PATH and PARGEP are unique in their support for nationally-derived efforts to address gender equality in Haitian institutions, and whether Canada's broader response to gender in Haiti will reflect this approach. Observations from this research contributes only limited clarity on this topic. For example, the international working group discussed in Chapter 4 could suggest a return to more internationally-derived responses to development, rather than addressing the national capacity of Haitian officials. Yet, it remains to be seen how Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy will shape the way Canada approaches gender in country contexts like Haiti at the project, policy, and institutional level. In key informant interviews with Canadian officials, there were signals that suggested that there could be room to support local women's organizations and the implementation of the PN-EFH and PA-EFH. The February 2018 funding announcement by Minister Bibeau highlighted support for local women's organizations. However, it is still unclear whether such local projects will fit into a more strategic Canadian approach towards Haiti.

As the Moïse administration's 2017 national budget suggests, significant gaps remain in terms of the financial investment and resources necessary to realize gender equality efforts in Haiti. One specific resource gap illuminated by this research is the limited funding and technical resources available to national women's organizations. Given MCFDF's limited capacity, when it does not have the capacity to do the work itself, the burden often falls with other organizations to fill these gaps, including women's organizations outside the government. More targeted funding for key women's organizations would help to address this resource gap. This could also

be a way to address the intersectionality of gender and the representation of marginalized groups in national gender equality efforts. For example, the disabled women's organization interviewed who suggested that they were left out from the elaboration of the PN-EFH and have faced difficulties in getting funding for their initiatives could be a focus of funding at the project and program level.

The implementation of the PN-EFH requires a systematic reflection on gender equality in all national institutions in Haiti. For this to be realized, follow-through mechanisms and lines of communication at multiple levels of government must be created to reinforce gendered ideals in a cross-sectoral manner. The MCFDF's current priorities at the inter-ministerial level, including the appointment of gender focal points and gender units in ministries, is an important step to ensure the representation of gender-equitable norms at multiple levels of government. To add to this, another key appointment of a national gender focal point is necessary in the parliamentary ranks to address the current lack of information at the parliamentary level about the policy and the law itself. Comprehensive knowledge and expertise at the parliamentary level could also ensure that accountability mechanisms are ingrained in all strategic documents at the national level, including the integration of gender assessments into national programming.

Areas of Future Research

This research has aimed at understanding how actors influenced the policymaking process that led to the adoption of the PN-EFH and PA-EFH, including where opportunities for actors to collaborate more closely could be. These themes were emphasized at the international and national levels. Moving forward, more research could be done to explore these themes at a local level, including the specific role local women's organizations have played in the policymaking process, and to look deeper into how their interests and claims were represented throughout this policymaking process. My research only interviewed a small number of local

women's organizations, with the focus mainly on key organizations and activists that had ties both to the women's movement and the MCFDF bureaucracy. My interviews with a couple of local women's organizations highlighted tensions about the extent to which they had been integrated in the policymaking process. On the whole, this policymaking process was viewed as a collaborative process that included the voices of women's organizations and activists.

However, when local women's organizations were interviewed, they suggested a certain level of discontent in terms of how they were integrated throughout the policymaking process, and the degree to which they have been involved in the implementation of the PN-EFH. Some suggested that they had yet to even see a copy of the policy document. This is a departure from the collaborative approach that was evoked in the policy document itself, and could be a topic for further inquiry moving forward.

On a larger scale, the role of social movements and institutions in Haitian policymaking processes is a topic that requires further research. As Guigni et. al suggests in regard to social movements, "if we want to inquire into the consequences of movements in the long run, we need to study how they can alter political institutions as well as those durable aspects of social organization that we may call social institutions" (Guigni intro xxix). This research began to unpack the relationship between social movements and political processes, showing glimpses of the way that these constructs interact. Further research could compare the women's movement and the PN-EFH to dynamics in other critical sectors – from persons with disabilities and their struggles for the implementation of the 2012 Law, to small farmers and their struggles for food sovereignty, or labour unions and their struggles for decent wages, workplace safety and lower unemployment.

Given that the process of implementation is ongoing and still in its infancy, this research could be followed up over time to see how the implementation process continues to unfold, especially under the current Moïse-Lafontant government. In Chapter 4, emphasis was placed on anecdotal evidence from key informants, because of limited written documentation on Moïse's action to date. A key starting point moving forward would be to look at the integration of gender equality into key policy documents currently under review by Moïse's administration, including the National Development Plan. A more in-depth analysis of the 2017 budget and continued gender analysis of forthcoming budgets are also required.

Support from the international community for the elaboration of the PN-EFH, namely the Canadian government and UN Women, highlight necessary ways that the international community must work to support the national efforts for this policy. However, in Haiti, a long history of international intervention has made it difficult to balance how the international community should provide political, social and economic policies without infringing on nationally-driven processes and Haitian autonomy. Moving forward, it is important for the international community to take their signals from current orientation laid out by Haitian officials, namely from the MCFDF, whose current priorities at the inter-ministerial level were mapped out in Chapter 4. Further research could be done to examine the extent to which the Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) and its policy and programming priorities reflect MCFDF's current priorities, and address the political, social, and economic factors that have placed binding constraints on the implementation of the PN-EFH.

Prospects for Transformative Agency?

The prospects for transformative agency in this policymaking process have been made clear. There is an agreement amongst officials interviewed that women's movement activism and the involvement of civil society were vital to the PN-EFH's elaboration and putting gender

equality on the political agenda in the first place. However, it becomes more complicated to discern the nature of this impact, and how profoundly these ideals were integrated throughout national institutions. For example, it was clear that the agency of women's movement actors influenced the MCFDF directly, but the lack of steady communication to the upper levels of government and limited integration of gender equality norms into key national documents beyond MCFDF highlight the narrow scope of this influence. As was reflected by Yanow and Meier, "The ability and success of implementation is not just about the quality of the law or action plan, but is directly linked to the administrative capacity of a certain country" (Yanow 1996; Meier 2006). In this vein, significant challenges remain for the implementation of the PN-EFH.

Despite this, the women's movement and key actors continue to advocate and find ways to move forward. In this policymaking process, transformative agency stems from women's organizations, activists, and key MCFDF officials that continue to advocate for the implementation of the PN-EFH and PA-EFH. Having these documents can serve as "armes de combat" to support these claims. Now, they face the challenge of revitalizing the implementation of both documents, and finding ways to continue to advocate for its integration within the Moïse administration's priorities. Moving forward, it is important to balance short and long-term goals. As Guigni reflects on social movements and transformative change,

In their aim of change the status quo, social movements face a fundamental dilemma. If they ask for short-term policy changes, they have a greater chance that such changes will occur, but they will not alter, in a fundamental way, existing structures and practices. If, instead, movements demand long-term institutional

changes, they will encounter more difficulties in realizing such changes, but when they do so, they have a more durable impact. (Guigni intro xxix).

There is no magic recipe for successful strategic activity by women's movements, because of the complex interplay between actors' influence and the way that policy processes and country contexts evolve over time. What matters most is to facilitate an environment where gender equity ideals can thrive. As Spehar (2007) suggests, having "women who actively participate in the process of formulating gender policies and a favourable political opportunity structure which can facilitate the demands of women's movements" (ibid. 238) are important aspects of a policy environment that is responsive to these gender ideals.

During the Day of Haitian Women on April 3rd, 2018, key women's organizations actors reflected on the enduring struggles Haitian society faces to escape out of neo-colonial and patriarchal predicaments. In its statement "La Solidarité Fanm Ayisyèn" (SOFA) highlighted the enduring constraints that limit the extent to which these predicaments can be overcome in the Haitian context. As they suggest, "22 years after the feminist leap, the patriarchal system continues to tolerate rapists, rewarding wife beaters and men who do not fulfill their obligations to their children" (Alterpresse, April 4th 2018, my translation). In terms of what this means for policies like the PN-EFH and PA-EFH, SOFA adds, "The Equality Plan is on the backburner, and the same is true of the law on violence. The idea of the law on equality between women and men has never passed to another stage." Policy mechanisms alone have been unsuccessful in transforming Haitian society. In another statement, Fann Deside (Determined Women), validate that that women have won certain rights overtime. Among the gains, Fann Deside cites the right to vote, the right to run for office and the right to own property (Alterpresse, April 4th, 2018, my translation). On the other hand, they reflect on how women continue to be the victims of gender-

based violence (ibid.). These statements highlight how despite the fact that history has shown that women have the ability to think and define their struggle, significant challenges remain even today to ingrain gender equitable ideals in the DNA of Haitian national institutions. For the implementation of the PN-EFH to be achieved, the MCFDF needs to be in a position to continue to strengthen its institutional relationships with civil society, at an inter-ministerial level, and with the national government, with other national entities, social movement actors and the international community, bolstering these efforts through nationally-focused mechanisms. Fundamentally, it is about building ramps to greater inclusion for all. And as Baranyi and Louis (2016) suggest in another sector, “The degree to which that really happens will be a vital area for grounded, critical research in the coming years” (ibid. 11).

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Annex A: Key Informant Bilingual Interview Guides
(as of 15 September 2017)

Interview Guide for Government of Haiti Officials

1. What are the key institutional processes that led to the adoption of the National Policy and Action Plan for Equality between Women and Men, by the government of Haiti, in 2014/15?

Quels sont les processus institutionnels clés qui ont conduit à l'adoption de la Politique nationale et du Plan d'action pour l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes, par le gouvernement d'Haïti, en 2014/15?

2. Who were key national women's organizations and other actors that influenced the elaboration of the National Policy for Equality between Women and Men?

Qui étaient les principales organisations nationales de femmes et d'autres acteurs qui ont influencé l'élaboration de la Politique nationale pour l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes?

3. What has the national government been able to do since this National Policy was publically presented in 2015? How have women's organizations and feminist actors been integrated into these actions?

Qu'est-ce que le gouvernement national a pu faire depuis que cette politique nationale a été présentée publiquement en 2015? Comment les organisations de femmes et les acteurs féministes ont-ils été intégrés dans ces actions?

4. What strategic lessons can be learned from this policymaking process about the role of transformative agency in the Haitian political process?

Quelles leçons stratégiques peuvent être tirés de ce processus d'élaboration des politiques sur le rôle de l'agence transformatrice dans le processus politique haïtien?

5. Do you have any other contacts or documents that you feel would be worthwhile for me to pursue as part of this research process?

Avez-vous d'autres contacts ou documents qui, selon vous, méritent d'être utiles dans le cadre de ce processus de recherche?

Interview Guide for Haitian Women's Activists

1. How was the women's movement represented throughout the key institutional processes that led to the adoption of the National Policy and Action Plan for Equality between Women and Men, by the government of Haiti, in 2014/15?

Comment le mouvement des femmes a-t-il représenté tout au long des processus institutionnels clés qui ont conduit à l'adoption de la Politique nationale et du Plan d'action pour l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes, par le gouvernement d'Haïti, en 2014/15?

2. Who were key national women's organizations and other actors that influenced the elaboration of the National Policy for Equality between Women and Men?

Qui étaient les principales organisations nationales de femmes et d'autres acteurs qui ont influencé l'élaboration de la Politique nationale pour l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes?

3. What has the national government been able to do since this National Policy was publically presented in 2015? How have women's organizations and feminist actors been integrated into these actions?

Qu'est-ce que le gouvernement national a pu faire depuis que cette politique nationale a été présentée publiquement en 2015? Comment les organisations de femmes et les acteurs féministes ont-ils été intégrés dans ces actions?

4. What strategic lessons can be learned from this policymaking process about the role of transformative agency in the Haitian political process?

Quelles leçons stratégiques peuvent être tirées de ce processus d'élaboration des politiques sur le rôle de l'agence transformatrice dans le processus politique haïtien?

5. Do you have any other contacts or documents that you feel would be worthwhile for me to pursue as part of this research process?

Avez-vous d'autres contacts ou documents qui, selon vous, méritent d'être utiles dans le cadre de ce processus de recherche?

Interview Guide for Canadian Officials & NGOs

1. What, if any, role did your organization play in the institutional processes leading up to the National Policy and Action Plan for Equality between Women and Men adopted by the national government in 2014/15?

Quel rôle, le cas échéant, votre organisation joue-t-elle dans les processus institutionnels menant à la politique nationale et au plan d'action pour l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes adoptés par le gouvernement national en 2014/15?

2. How would you describe the agency of your organization throughout the policymaking process that led to the adoption of the National Policy for Equality between Women and Men?

Comment décririez-vous l'agence de votre organisation tout au long du processus d'élaboration des politiques qui conduirait à l'adoption de la Politique nationale pour l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes?

3. What has the national government been able to do since this National Policy was publically presented in 2015? How have international partners and organizations impacted these actions?

Qu'est-ce que le gouvernement national a pu faire depuis que cette politique nationale a été présentée publiquement en 2015? Comment les partenaires et les organisations internationales ont-ils eu un impact sur ces actions?

4. What is the role of policy/programming mechanisms in the implementation of this plan? At what levels of society do they operate?

Quel est le rôle des mécanismes de politique / programmation dans la mise en œuvre de ce plan? À quels niveaux de la société opèrent-ils?

5. What strategic lessons can be learned from this policymaking process about the role of transformative agency in the Haitian political process?

Quelles leçons stratégiques peuvent être tirées de ce processus d'élaboration des politiques sur le rôle de l'agence transformatrice dans le processus politique haïtien?

6. Do you have any other contacts or documents that you feel would be worthwhile for me to pursue as part of this research process?

Avez-vous d'autres contacts ou documents qui, selon vous, méritent d'être utiles dans le cadre de ce processus de recherche?